

CALLIMACHUS
HYMN TO APOLLO

A Commentary

BY

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INTRODUCTION

IN this commentary I attempt to solve some of the literary problems of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and to examine in detail Callimachus' use and enrichment of the epic language he inherited from his predecessors.

The *Hymn* has often been approached from other directions: it has been regarded as primary evidence for the political and diplomatic history of Ptolemaic Egypt and the city of Cyrene; as a source of biographical material on the poet's life and especially on his relations with Apollonius Rhodius; and as a document for the study of Cyrenean religion. These non-literary approaches can hardly be said to have produced satisfactory results. One factor is that the poem cannot be securely dated; for not only are there 'no precise dates in any of the Hymns' (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i. 652), but the value and validity of the references to contemporary events which they allegedly contain are questionable, above all in this hymn, as Vahlen's study showed (*Über einige Anspielungen in den Hymnen des Callimachus*, 1895). Often these allusions are conventional, and unspecific, as in lines 26-7, where hostility to Apollo is equated with hostility to 'my king'; sometimes Callimachus' words have been forced to yield a 'contemporary reference' without any regard for their context, as has happened with line 68; and the wild allegorical fantasies catalogued by Ehrlich in 1894 (*De Callimachi Hymnis Quaestiones Chronologicae*), and justly ridiculed by Kuiper in 1898 (*Studia Callimachea*, ii. 139-41) continue to be canvassed as serious contributions to scholarship. The credulity which can see Ptolemy Philadelphus (or Euergetes; or even both) disguised as the beautiful beardless Apollo, or detect Berenice masquerading as the Thessalian nymph Cyrene, or uncover the ruler Demetrius hidden beneath the mane of the cow-slaughtering lion, testifies to a deep human craving to identify Literature and Life even at the cost of a few category-mistakes. While such fancies, as long as they are entertained in private, may bring their authors harmless psychological comfort, they are as irrelevant to an understanding of Callimachean poetry as the Persian chain.

More soberly, it has often been argued that the *Hymn* must be dated to 246 B.C. or thereabouts, since Callimachus could not have written it before the reconciliation of Egypt and Cyrene (see most recently Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* i. 652). While there are good reasons for seeing the *Hymn* as a comparatively late product of the poet's mature style (in particular the close similarity between the final section and the prologue to the *Aetia*), it is wrong to pretend to a fuller acquaintance with the complex and tangled relations between Cyrene and Egypt than our inadequate sources permit. Certainly we are not justified in reading back the attitudes of the Cold War to the very different conditions of the third century B.C. Nor should we forget that Callimachus was an aristocrat from Cyrene; in the words of Von der Mühl (*MH* 15 (1958), 7): 'Der aus Kyrene stammende Dichter konnte den Apoll von Kyrene preisen und herzlich sich als Angehörigen seiner Heimat vorstellen, jederzeit und ohne politische Absicht.' In the absence of firm and independent evidence, we must be content to interpret the *Hymn* without the illusory benefit of a dating derived from *a priori* assumptions and supported by circular arguments.

Another unprofitable approach to the *Hymn* has been the attempt to relate it to an alleged quarrel, beloved of literary historians, between Callimachus and Apollonius. Whether there ever was such a quarrel may reasonably be doubted, and as Pfeiffer warned (*History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 144) 'fiction is no substitute for evidence'. The *Argonautica* shows detailed knowledge and profound sympathy with Callimachus' poetry; Apollonius is not numbered among the Telchines of the *Aetia* prologue, and it is a gratuitous assumption of modern writers to suppose that Callimachus singled out his pupil for attack in the final scene of the *Hymn*. It is also an assumption which belittles the significance of Apollo's utterance, which, as I hope to show, has a much richer and more positive meaning than previous commentators have allowed it.

That the *Hymn* was not written for performance at an actual religious ceremony seems to me self-evident from its form and its esoteric learning; but the belief that it was 'composed in connexion with the festival of the Carneia at Cyrene' and performed in public has been revived recently by Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* i. 653, cf. ii. 916 n. 289; cf., with a different emphasis, Bundy, *Cal. Stud.*

in *Class. Phil.* 5 (1972), 87). The poem certainly, in my view, purports to describe a celebration of the Carneia at Cyrene (though the setting of the narrative frame is suggested only by subtle allusions, such as line 15), at which Apollo manifests himself in order to commend Callimachus' literary theories; and throughout the *Hymn* Callimachus displays his extensive knowledge of folklore and his deep interest in religious practices. (This interest was of course shared by Apollonius and other members of Callimachus' circle; his pupil and compatriot Ister actually wrote a monograph on epiphanies of Apollo: *FGrH* 334 fr. 50-2.) But it does not seem necessary to posit public performance, even on the intellectual fringe of a festival, in order to account for the ritual setting of the *Hymn*; and Mair's succinct verdict (introduction to Loeb edition, 18-19), though expressed in dated terms, remains definitive:

It is difficult to see how Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* would gain either in poetic merit or in historical value if we knew it to have been actually performed in the Abbey; and it would be a matter rather of personal curiosity than of literary interest to discover that Mr. Bridges' *Elegy on a Lady* was sung by a choir of maidens at a real funeral.

The poem is concerned primarily not with politics or religion, but with literature.¹ Apollo is, it frequently affirms, the god of poetry: he is also the patron of Callimachus' native city of Cyrene and of his noble family, the Battiadae. Apollo's epiphany is witnessed only by the elect, and the god is greeted not only with choral music and dancing, but with a song (this is indeed the hymn proper) sung by Callimachus (32-96). This celebrates Apollo's virtues in a series of vignettes, several of them aetiological in form; it culminates in a carefully composed section (65-96) on the mutual loyalty of Apollo and the Battiad house. After the poet's song, he explains the origin of the refrain which the chorus is singing (97-103). This allusive and elliptical passage may possibly be a variation of Callimachus' own treatment of the same theme in the *Aetia*: at any rate, as an example of his aetiological style it neatly introduces the final scene (105-13). Apollo is now in the midst of his worshippers; Phthonos creeps up to him and whispers criticisms of the singer's (that is, of Callimachus') composition. Apollo kicks him away contemptuously,

¹ Contrast Cahen, *Callimaque*, 275; cf. Legrand, *REA* 3 (1901), 281-312.

and enunciates Callimachean aesthetic principles; finally the poet salutes his god.

Callimachus expected great erudition of his readers, and was addressing himself to a small circle of *cognoscenti* rather than the general public:

ὀπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός.

He required them to recognize references to zoological lore (see notes to 51, 63, and 110), the local traditions of Cyrenean history (66, 91, 94, etc.), and the literary accounts of the city's foundation as related by Pindar and Herodotus (71, 76, 89, etc.); but above all he expected of his readers an intimate knowledge of Homer, his language, his motifs, and the *cruces* of contemporary Homeric scholarship.

The basis of Callimachus' style is the constant interplay between imitation and variation of Homer,¹ and in the *Hymn* he attempts to answer both in practical and theoretical terms the question of how a learned modern poet could appropriately draw on the riches of Homeric poetry in order to create a new idiom. Like Apollonius, he chose not to copy banal clichés or to repeat epic formulae in unsuitable contexts. It is Homer's rarities and obscurities which he seeks to reproduce, usually with a significant variation in their application: see, for example, his use of *διερός* (23), *οἶλος* (76), and *θεώτερον* (93). While he frequently re-applies rare or unique expressions in this way, he can be more allusive still: thus his new word *ἀρπακτής* (95) is meant to recall Homer's *ῥυστακτής*, which is itself *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. For Callimachus the language of Homer was not a mummified corpse, to be revered by preserving it in its old form; it was, rather, a living organism to be nurtured and tended. Therefore he introduces new words and forms, provided they can be assimilated into epic. For example, in 54 he naturalizes the words *μονοτόκος* and *διδυμοτόκος*, technical terms of zoology, by slightly modifying their forms to *μουντόκος* and *διδυματόκος*; as such, they take their place beside the Homeric adjective *πρωτοτόκος* (which is another *ἄπαξ*). Similarly he creates analogical forms of verbs (e.g. *δεδάσιν* 46), nouns (e.g. *δῖστυγής* 43), and adjectives (e.g. *πουλυκτέανος* 35; *ἀχράαντος* 111).² Even without new developments of this kind,

¹ Cf. Herter, *Kallimachos und Homer*, *passim*.

² Schmitt, *Nominalbildung*, 161, issues a salutary warning that words which are first attested in Callimachus are not necessarily his own inventions: but some

comparatively commonplace Homeric expressions are given new life: for example, in 83, instead of using the Homeric formula *ἀκάματον πῦρ* he changes the metaphor and says *ἀέναον πῦρ*: the adjective is attested, but only once, in Homer, and the metaphor had already been used by Pindar, but in a very different context, of the unceasing thunderbolts of divine vengeance; Callimachus reverses the connotations by applying the expression to the ever-burning sacrificial fire which carries thank-offerings from men to the god, and which represents for Apollo the kind of pleasure and solace which men find in a spring which flows throughout the year.

Often Callimachus will combine in a single line or phrase allusions to several passages of Homer: see for example the notes to 52. Frequently he recalls readings in the Homeric text which were in some way controversial, either in their form (e.g. *οἷες* 53) or their meaning (e.g. *Ὀρτυγίη* 59, and many others), or because their authenticity had been challenged (e.g. the Niobe passage, 22 ff., or the Oceanus line, for which see the introduction to 105-13).

There is one way in which Callimachus exploits his readers' learning that should give us modern scholars, handicapped by the loss of so much Greek literature, some degree of comfort: sometimes he deliberately leads them astray by giving them to believe he is using a Homeric expression in the correct manner, and then surprising them with a new and unexpected turn (see on 4 and 14). If we sometimes fall into traps, it is likely enough that Callimachus set them.

of them undoubtedly are, and it is our duty to attempt as best we can to distinguish these and understand their form and significance.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

THE aim of the present work is to equip the *Hymn to Apollo* with a modern commentary, and I have reproduced, with a few small modifications, Pfeiffer's text, testimonia, and apparatus criticus, by permission of the Delegates of the Press. In only five places (7, 54, 72, 89, 94) do I adopt a different reading from that of Pfeiffer, and my reasons are fully discussed in the commentary. For discussions of the transmission of the text of the *Hymns* I refer the reader to the discussions of Pfeiffer (*Callimachus. Vol. II: Hymni et Epigrammata* (Oxford, 1953), pp. li-xci) and Bornmann (*Callimachi Hymnus in Dianam* (Florence, 1968), pp. liv-lxi.)

CONVENTIONS

WHERE I have departed from the generally accepted systems of abbreviations used by LSJ and *L'Année Philologique*, I have intended to achieve greater clarity. The works of Callimachus are cited from Pfeiffer's edition: *ep.* = epigram, *fr.* = fragment, *h.* = hymn. Books of Homer are cited by Greek letters, upper case for the *Iliad*, lower case for the *Odyssey*; I have usually employed the term 'Homer' to include the *Homeric Hymns* (abbreviated to *h.hom.*) for convenience, without implying any view on their authorship. An asterisk (*) after a citation indicates that the word or phrase under discussion occurs there in the same metrical *sedes*. Modern works, if referred to frequently, are usually cited by the author's name followed by page-number: such references are elucidated in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

SIGLA

PAPYRI

- p P.Oxy. 2258 A fr. 2, fragmenta vv. 1-18,
24-40 continens (? s. vi/vii)
P.Ant. P.Ant. 20, commentarium in vv. 38-76
continens (s. iv/v)

CODICES

- ψ archetypus omnium mediae aetatis codicum
α hyparchetypus vel consensus codd. **FIΛHG**
F Ambrosianus 120 (s. xv in.)
I Vaticanus Graecus 1379 (anno 1496)
Λ Laurentianus suppl. 440 (c. 1496)
H Leidensis Vossianus 59 (s. xv/xvi)
G Vindobonensis philos. philol. gr. 318 (s. xv ex.)
η consensus codicum **GHIA**
β hyparchetypus vel consensus codd. **Ee**
E Parisinus Graecus 2763 (s. xv)
e Ambrosianus 734 (s. xv)
γ apographon hyparchetypi ε vel consensus codi-
cum Π [D]
Π Parisinus Graecus suppl. 1095 (s. xv ex.)
[D] Laurentianus 32, 45, nunc mutilus: hoc
enim usus est I. Lascaris (s. xv)
δ hyparchetypus vel consensus codicum **SQq**
S Matritensis Graecus 4562 (anno 1464)
Q Mutinensis Estensis 164 (s. xv ex.)
q Ambrosianus 11 (A 63 sup.) (anno 1509)
ζ hyparchetypus vel consensus codd. **ABCK**
A Vaticanus Graecus 1691 (s. xv)
B Vaticanus Graecus 36 (s. xv)
C Venetus Marcianus 480 (s. xv)
K Urbinas Graecus 145 (s. xv)

EDITIONES ET CODICES RECENTISSIMI

- La editio princeps I. Lascaris, Florentiae (? 1496)
Ald. editio Aldina, Venetiis (1513)
L Leidensis xxxiii Ru. 7 (s. xvi)
T Taurinensis B.V. 26, nunc deperditus (s. xvi)

ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ

- Οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεῖσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,
οἶα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἐκάς ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.
καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
οὐχ ὀράας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἡδύ τι φοῖνιξ
5 ἐξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν αἶδει.
αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων,
αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακράν·
οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπὴν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνασθε.
ὠπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός·
10 ὅς μιν ἴδῃ, μέγας οὗτος, ὃς οὐκ ἴδε, λιτὸς ἐκείνος.
ὀψόμεθ', ὦ Ἐκάεργε, καὶ ἐσόμεθ' οὔποτε λιτοί.
μήτε σιωπηλὴν κίθαριν μήτ' ἄμοφον ἵχνος
τοῦ Φοῖβου τοὺς παῖδας ἔχειν ἐπιδημήσαντος,
εἰ τελέειν μέλλουσι γάμον πολὴν τε-κερεῖσθαι,
15 ἐστήξῃν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ' ἀρχαίοισι θεμέλοις.
ἡγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυσ οὐκέτ' ἀεργός.
εὐφημεῖτ' αἶοντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος αἰοιδῇ.
εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος, ὅτε κλείουσιν αἰοδοί
ἢ κίθαριν ἢ τόξα, Λυκωρέος ἔντεα Φοῖβου.

Testim. 3 Hesych. v. 'ἀράσσει'... τύπτει 6 Schol. (K) Theocr. xi 12
αὐταί]... Ὁμηρος (Θ 99)... ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτόματος καὶ μόνος. Καλλιμαχος· 'αὐτοὶ—
ἀνακλίνασθε θυράων' 15 Choer. in Theodos., Gr.Gr. iv 2, p. 114, 25 H.
'ἐστήξῃν—θεμέλοις' παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ ἐν Ὑμνοῖς; ibid. p. 343, 2 ὡς παρὰ Καλλ.
'ἐστήξῃν—θεμέλοις' ἀντὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἵστασθαι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ' ἀρχαίοις θεμέλοις. Et.Gud.
p. 436, 20 de Stef. v. εἰστήκειν... ὁ ποιητὴς (. . .) 'ἐστήξῃν—θεμέλοις'. Epim.
alph. in Hom., AO i p. 374, 27, . . . ὁ μέλλων ἐστήξῃ 'ἐστήξῃν—θεμέλοις'
19 Theognost. can., AO ii 45, 32 ἢ δὲ 'Λυκωρέος' γενικὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκωρέως εὐθείας
ἐκφερομένη οὕσα (sic) τετρήρηται ([Arcad.] Exc. ex Herodian. p. 26, 14 Ba. = 28,
1 Schm. Λυκώρης, ὅπερ Καλλιμάχος δέξινει?, v. Lentz ad Herodian. i 72, 6)

1-18 = P.Oxy. 2258, A fr. 2 recto 1 δάφνινος Dieg., ut videtur 2 ὄλον et
ad supra on p: οἶο δ' ψ: οἶα δ' La: οἶον Valckenaer (οἶον in textu, οἶα δ' marg. T teste
Nigra) 5 ὁ δὲ ψ: οτε ψ 6 ἀνακλίνασθε Schol. Theocr.: -εσθε ψ (cf. v8)]θηγρων
sscr. πυλαων p: πυλάων ψ: θυράων Schol. Theocr. 7 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ψ: επειθεος[p
μακράν ψ: μακρην p (coniecerat Mein.) 8 οσχ[... ε]πτυνασθε p: -εσθε ψ
9 ἀλλ' οστις p 10 ἴδῃ μέγας ψ: ε]δενμεγας p (coniecerat Blomfield)

- 20 οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλλῆα κινύρεται αἶλῳα μήτηρ,
ὀππόθ' ἰὴ παιῶν ἰὴ παιῶν ἀκούσῃ.
καὶ μὲν ὁ δακρυόεις ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος,
ὅστις ἐνὶ Φρυγίῃ διερός λίθος ἐστήρικται,
μάρμαρον ἀντὶ γυναικὸς οὐζυρόν τι χανούσης.
25 ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε· κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.
ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῇ μάχοιτο·
ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῇ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.
τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων, ὃ τι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν αἰεῖδει,
τιμήσει· δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἦσται.
30 οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἐν μόνον ἡμᾶρ αἰεῖσει,
ἔστι γὰρ εὐνυμος· τίς ἂν οὐ ρέα Φοῖβον αἰεῖδοι;

χρῦσα τῶπόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἢ τ' ἐπιπορπίς
ἢ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἢ τε φαρέτρῃ,
χρῦσα καὶ τὰ πέδιλα· πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
35 καὶ πουλκτέανος· Πυθῶνί κε τεκμήραιο.
καὶ μὲν αἰεὶ καλὸς καὶ αἰεὶ νέος· οὐποτε Φοῖβου
θηλείαις οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐπὶ χνός ἦλθε παρειαῖς,
αἰ δὲ κόμαι θυόεντα πέδῳ λείβουσιν ἔλαια·
οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν ἔθειραι,
40 ἀλλ' αὐτὴν Πανάκειαν· ἐν ἄστέϊ δ' ᾧ κεν ἐκείναι
πρώκες ἔραζε πέσωσιν, ἀκήρια πάντ' ἐγένοντο.
τέχνῃ δ' ἀμφιλαφῆς οὐτις τόσον ὅσον Ἀπόλλων·
κεῖνος οὐστειτὴν ἔλαχ' ἀνέρα, κείνος αἰοῖδόν
(Φοῖβῳ γὰρ καὶ τόξον ἐπιτρέπεται καὶ αἰοῖδή),
45 κείνον δὲ θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες· ἐκ δὲ νῦ Φοῖβου
ιητροὶ δεδάασιν ἀνάβλησιν θανάτοιο.

33 Hesych. v. 'ἄεμμα'· τόξον 37 Hesych. v. 'χνός'· ὁ χνοῦ(ς) τοῦ γεν(ε)ῖων
ἀρξαμένου (suppl. Musurus) 40 sq. Schol. Theocr. iv 16 a., v. Pf. ad fr. 1, 34
(ὡς κεν et πεσοῦσαι vel πεσοῦνται codd.) 41 Hesych. v. 'ἀκήρια'· ἀκέραια, σῶα

24-40 = P.Oxy. 2258, A fr. 2 verso 31]ικαν, ουρεα p: ἀν' οὔρεα ψ: divisit T in
marg. 35 καιπρυ[...]ανος p (infra v fort. finis sinister signi quod dicitur
ὑφέν): καί τε (δὲ Schn.) πολυκτέανος ψ (πουλυ- composita, ut πουλκτέανος, ab
Homero aliena, apud sequiores quoque poetas rarissima, cf. Gu. Schulze, quaest.
ep. p. 445) 36 καμιν[p: καί κεν ψ (correxerat Belin de Ballu) 37 θηλείαι
p in textu et θηλείαις in lemmate Schol.: θηλείαις ψ ηλυθεπαρει[p

- Φοῖβον καὶ Νόμιον κικλήσκομεν ἐξέτι κείνου,
ἐξότ' ἐπ' Ἀμφρυσσῶ ζευγίτιδας ἔτρεφεν ἵππους
ἡϊθέου ὑπ' ἔρωτι κεκαυμένος Ἀδμήτοιο.
50 ρεῖα κε βουβόσιον τελέθοι πλέον, οὐδέ κεν αἶγες
δεύοντο βρεφῶν ἐπιμηλάδες, ἦσιν Ἀπόλλων
βοσκομένης· ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν· οὐδ' ἀγάλακτες
οἶες οὐδ' ἄκνυοι, πᾶσαι δέ κεν εἰεν ὕπαρνοι,
ἢ δέ κε μουντοτόκος διδυματοτόκος αἶψα γένοιτο.
55 Φοῖβῳ δ' ἐσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ αἰεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ
κτιζομένης, αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.
τετραέτης τὰ πρῶτα θεμείλια Φοῖβος ἔπηξε
καλῇ ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ περιηγέος ἐγγύθι λίμνης.
60 Ἄρτεμις ἀγρώσσουσα καρήατα συνεχῆς αἰγῶν
Κυνθιάδων φορέεσκεν, ὃ δ' ἔπλεκε βωμὸν Ἀπόλλων,
δείματο μὲν κεράεσσιν ἐδέθλια, πῆξε δὲ βωμὸν
ἐκ κεράων, κεραοὺς δὲ πέριξ ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους.
ὦδ' ἔμαθεν τὰ πρῶτα θεμείλια Φοῖβος ἐγείρειν.
65 Φοῖβος καὶ βαθύγειον ἐμὴν πόλιν ἔφρασε Βάττω
καὶ Λιβύην ἐσιόντι κόραξ ἡγήσατο λαῶ,
δεξιὸς οἰκιστῆρι, καὶ ὤμοσε τείχεα δώσειν
ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν· αἰεὶ δ' εὖορκος Ἀπόλλων.
ὠππολλον, πολλοὶ σε Βοηδρόμιον καλέουσι,
70 πολλοὶ δὲ Κλάριον, πάντῃ δέ τοι οὔνομα πούλυ·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Καρνεῖον· ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω.
Σπάρτη τοι, Καρνεῖε, ἴτόδεϊ πρώτιστον ἔδεθλον,

47-9 Schol. D Gen. (11) B 766 τὰς Ἀδμήτου ἵππους· ἐπεὶ Νόμος ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου,
ἀφ' οὗ ἐθήτευσε τῷ Ἀδμήτῳ· ἦτοι ὡς Καλλιμαχος· 'ἡϊθέου—Ἀδμήτοιο', ἢ ὡς Εὐριπίδης.
Schol. A Ψ 383 δοκεῖ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον Ἀπόλλων θηγεῖσθαι Ἀδμήτῳ... ὡς... Καλλι-
μαχος, διὰ τὸ ἐρασθῆναι Ἀδμήτῳ 52 sq. Et.gen. B v. ἄκνυος (= Et.M. p. 55,
12 = Et.Gud.cod. Par. 2636, Cramer, AP iv 60, 4) λέγεται ἡ ἀγονος. Καλλιμαχος·
'οὐδ' ἀγάλακτες—ὕπαρνοι' 53 Et. gen. B v. ἄκνυος (= Et.M. p. 54, 52)...
Καλλιμαχος· 'ἄκνυος' εἰπὼν μεταλήψει στοιχείου ἐχρήσατο 57 Hesych. v.
'ὑφαίνει'· κατασκευάζει 58 Hesych. v. 'ἐπηξεν'· ἔστησεν 70 Hesych. v.
'Κλάριον'·... ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος

48 ἀμφρυσσ(σ)ῶ αβγδ: ἀμφρυσσῶ ζ 51 ἐπιμηλάδες ψ, v.l. μενεμηλάδες (sic)
in Schol. EeQ (μενεμηλάδες Schol. La), ubi μεν del. 53 οἶες ψ: οἶες La,
Et.gen. (cf. i 425) 54 διδυμοτόκος ψ:—ατόκος H. Stephan.: -ητόκος anon. ap.
L. van Santen 60 καρήατα ψ: v.l. κεράατα Schol. P. Ant. (coniecerat Mein.)
67 οἰκιστῆρ ψ: corr. Bentl. 72 τόδε ψ: τό γε Ernesti: τὸ δὲ Kaibel:
πολὺ Meineke: πέλε Ruhnken: τίθει vel δέμε Kuiper: πόρε dubitanter conieci

- δεύτερον αὖ Θήρη, τρίτατόν γε μὲν ἄστυ Κυρήνης.
 ἐκ μὲν σε Σπάρτης ἕκτον γένος Οἰδιπόδαο
 75 ἤγαγε Θηραίην ἐς ἀπόκτισιν· ἐκ δέ σε Θήρης
 οἶλος Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀστυσίδῃ πάρθετο γαίῃ,
 δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον, ἐν δὲ πόλῃ
 θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, ἥ ἔνι πολλοὶ
 ὑστάτιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχίον, ὦ ἄνα, ταῦροι.
 80 ἡ ἡ Καρνείε πολὺλλιτε, σείω δὲ βωμοὶ
 ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἵαρι τόσσα περ ὦραι
 ποικίλ' ἀγινεῦσι ζεφύρου πνεύοντος ἔερσην,
 χεῖματι δὲ κρόκον ἡδύν· αἰεὶ δέ τοι ἀέναον πῦρ,
 οὐδέ ποτε χθιζὸν περιβόσκειται ἄνθρακα τέφρη.
 85 ἡ ῥ' ἐχάρη μέγα Φοῖβος, ὅτε ζωστήρες Ἐννοῦς
 ἄνδρες ὠρχήσαντο μετὰ ξανθῇσι Λιβύσσαις,
 τέθμῃαι εὐτέ σφιν Καρνειάδες ἤλυθον ὦραι.
 οἱ δ' οὐπω πηγῇσι Κύρης ἐδύναντο πελάσσαι
 Δωριέες, πυκινὴν δὲ νάπαις Ἀζίλιν ἔβαινον.
 90 τοὺς μὲν ἄναξ ἴδεν αὐτός, ἐῖ δ' ἐπεδείξατο νύμφῃ
 στὰς ἐπὶ Μυρτούσσης κερατώδεος, ἥχι λέοντα
 ὕψις κατέπεφνε βοῶν σίνιν Εὐρυπύλοιο.
 οὐ κείνου χορὸν εἶδε θεώτερον ἄλλον Ἀπόλλων,
 οὐδέ πόλει τόσ' ἔδειμεν ὀφέλιμα, τόσσα Κυρήνη,
 95 μνωόμενος προτέρης ἀρπακτύος. οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτοὶ
 Βαττιάδαι Φοῖβοιο πλέον θεὸν ἄλλον ἔτισαν.

74-6 Schol. Dionys. Per. 213 ὁ Θήρας ἄνωθεν Λάκων (sic) ... οὐ μέμνηται Καλλιμάχος περὶ τῆς ιστορίας· ἐκ μὲν σε—Ἀριστοτέλης 74 Schol. (EGK) Pind. P. v 99 a ἐπεὶ ἐκ Λακωνικῆς ἐλθόντες οἱ περὶ Θήραν Καλλίστην ὥκησαν· Καλλιμάχος· ἐκ μὲν σε—γένος· 88 sq. Schol. (DEGQ) Pind. P. iv 523 Ἀπόλλωνος κρήνην φησὶν, ἥς καὶ Καλλιμάχος μνημονεύει· οἱ δ'—Δωριέες 91 sq. Schol. (BDEGQ) Pind. P. ix 45 κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν τῇ Πηλῳ τότε τὴν Κυρήνην ὁ Ἀπόλλων τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ἄνευ δόρατος μόνῃ διαμαχομένην λέοντι. καὶ Καλλιμάχος· ἐνθα λέοντα—Εὐρυπύλοιο 92 Schol. Ap.Rh. iv 1561 c. μνημονεύει τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου καὶ Καλλιμάχος, λέγων· βοῶν—Εὐρυπύλοιο, περὶ Κυρήνης ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον

80 πολὺλλιστε ψ: πολὺλ(λ)ιτε La η (-λλιστε in -λλιτε corr. B) 88 πηγῆς κυρῆς ψ (κυρῆς η): πηγῆσι κυρῆς Schol. Pind.: corr. Schn. 91 μυρτούσσης ψ: -ούσσης E[La]I, cf. Pf. ad fr. 43, 86 κερατώδεος ψ: κεραώδεος Mein. ἥχι ψ: ἐνθα Schol. Pind. 93 εἶδε aLa: ἴδε ψ 94 ἔδειμεν ψ: ἐνείμεν La

- ἡ ἡ παιῶν ἀκούομεν, οὐνεκα τοῦτο
 Δελφός τοι πρώτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὔρετο λαός,
 ἥμος ἐκβολὴν χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυστο τόξων.
 100 Πυθώ τοι κατιόντι συνήντετο δαιμόνιος θήρ,
 αἰνὸς ὄφης. τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήμαρες ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλων
 βάλλων ὠκὺν οἰστόν, ἐπηῦττησε δὲ λαός·
 ἡ ἡ παιῶν, ἡ βέλους· εὐθύ σε μήτηρ
 γείνατ' ἀοσητήρα· τὸ δ' ἐξέτι κείθεν αἰεῖδη.
 105 ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν·
 οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰεῖδει.
 τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδὶ τ' ἤλασεν ὠδέ τ' εἶπεν·
 Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
 110 Διοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγῃ λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.
 χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἦν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἐνθα νέοιτο.

100-3 Schol. (Ald.) Aristoph. Pac. 453 ἡ παιῶν] ἐφύμνιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν Καλλιμάχος ἦσε διὰ τούτων· Πυθώ—ἡ βέλους 110 Hesych. v. 'μέλισσαι'· αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύτιδες 111 Hesych. v. 'ἀνέρπει'· ἀνέρχεται 113 Schol. Greg.Naz. c. 12, 34, 72 (= PG 37, 950) in cod. Bodl. E. D. Clarke 12 (saec. x), fol. 3^a (in marg. dext., cuius pars exterior abscissa est) ἡ βασκανία δὲ καὶ βλάβη διὰ φθόνου· ἡ μέμψις· ὃν γὰρ φθο[νέ] | τ(ι)ς κ(αὶ) βασκαίνει, μ[έμ]ψ(αι) κ(αὶ) σκώπτει, [κα]θώς φησι (καὶ) τ(ι)ς τ(ὸν) σοφ(ῶν)· '[βα]|σκανίης μνημεῖ(ον) [ἀρι]|φραδές (ἔστιν) ὁ μῶμ[ος]' καὶ ὁ Καλλιμάχ(ος)· 'ὁ | δὲ μῶμος ἦν' | ὁ φθόνος | ἐνθα νέ|οιτο' (post νέ atramenti vestigia, fort. v)

113 φθόρος ψ: φθόνος I, Ald. (inde L) et Schol. Greg.Naz.

COMMENTARY

1-8. The scene is outside Apollo's temple, and the narrator exclaims that the laurel is quivering, the whole temple shaking, signs which suggest the god's imminent epiphany; he orders the wicked to depart. After further indications of the god's approach (the nodding of the palm-tree, the singing of the swan), he commands the fastenings of the doors to undo themselves, and orders the chorus of boys to begin to sing and dance.

The ritual motifs in these lines have been discussed in detail by Otto Weinreich in a section of his exhaustive study of miraculous door-openings: *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 67-74; cf. also K. J. McKay, *CQ* 17 (1967), 184-94, G. Santangelo, *Giorn. It. Fil.* n.s. 3 (1972), 52-62. These studies demonstrate how traditional much of the material used by Callimachus is; but from the literary point of view, there survives no earlier example of such a mimetic presentation of an epiphany ritual, though the second-hand account of Alcaeus' hymn to Apollo (*fr.* 307 Page) given by Himerius offers tantalizing glimpses of what may have been one of Callimachus' models. Callimachus presents hymns 5 and 6 in a similarly dramatic way, achieving his vivid effects as here by frequent changes of subject, directing the reader's attention first to one happening, then to another, mingling reports of visual and auditory phenomena with ritual commands; asyndeton is frequent, choice epic language is juxtaposed with colloquial expressions. (In *Idyll* 15, Theocritus combines the genres of hymn and mime by presenting the reactions to the Adonis-festival of two housewives who are present when the hymn is sung.)

1. οἶον: adverbial, introducing an exclamation; cf. *P* 471* οἶον πρὸς Τρῶας μάχεται πρῶτῳ ἐν ὁμίλῳ, *N* 633*, *O* 287*, *Φ* 57*, and cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 238-9.

ὁ . . . ὄρηξ: for such separation of article and noun cf. *h.* 3. 68-9, 6. 121; it is particularly common in Aratus: see Maass's edition, index II, s.v. 'articulus et nomen diversis periodi portionibus vel versibus inserta'.

τῷπόλλωνος: for the crasis see note to 9; here, note the effect created of the alternation of long and short o sounds in the first half of the line. More conventionally composed hymns normally begin with the name of the god (e.g. *Ζηνὸς h.* 1. 1), and even in the mimetic hymns Call. contrives to name the deity very early in the poem: cf. *h.* 5. 1, 6. 2. Cf. 32, the beginning of the inset hymn sung by the poet.

ἑσείσατο: the aorist middle of *σεῖω* occurs only once in Homer, at *Θ* 199 (the subject is the goddess Hera) *σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον*. Call. here transfers the verb from a deity to the

symbol of a deity (cf. ἐπένευσεν 4); in both contexts the surroundings also shake. For the tense, an 'instantaneous' aorist, see on ἡγασάμην (16).

δάφνινος: previously attested only in prose (Hippocrates, *de morbis* 2, p. 465, 46; Theophrastus, *frag. de odoribus* 28), but parallel in formation to the Homeric plant adjectives φήγινος (*E* 838), ἐλάϊνος (*N* 612), etc.; cf. Risch, *Wortbildung*, 93.

ὄρηξ: once only in Homer (with smooth breathing), *Φ* 38; cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 33*. Here it seems to denote a laurel sapling growing in the *temenos*, like the palm of 4, rather than a branch of laurel hung up as decoration, or a sprig held by a worshipper (as at Pindar, *Parth.* 2. 7): see Weinreich, 70 n. 60. Cf. *fr.* 194. 10, again of the laurel: σείσασα τοὺς ὄρηκας. Though the shaking of the laurel is mentioned frequently in descriptions of Apollo's epiphanies (especially those which take place at Delphi), it is not always clear in what form the laurel is envisaged. Cf. Aristoph. *Plutus* 213 ὁ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην, Aristonous, *Paean* 10–11 χλωρότομον δάφναν | σείων. In particular it is regarded as a guarantee of the genuineness of a prophecy: e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 90–1 (in Delos) 'tremere omnia visa repente / limina laurusque dei', Ovid, *Met.* 15. 634–5, Phaedrus, *appendix Perottina* 8. 4–5 (Perry, p. 380), Seneca, *Oedipus* 228, Triphiodorus 366; cf. Lucan 5. 154–5 (a bogus prophecy, at which there are no signs of the divine presence) '... nullo ... horrore comarum / excussae laurus, innotaque limina templi'.

For the association of the laurel with Delphi see Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes*, 126–34, Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, i. 26. From one point of view therefore it represents the Delphic aspects of the cult of Apollo, as the palm-tree (4) represents the Delian; neither serves to localize the scene of the poem. Like the palm, the laurel is sometimes included among the trees associated with the birth of Apollo (e.g. at *h.* 4. 210; cf. Allen–Halliday–Sikes on *h.hom.* 3. 117). Hence it was planted in sanctuaries of Apollo other than Delphi: see *fr.* 229. 11, Stevens on Eur. *Andr.* 296; cf. Hdt. 4. 15. 4, Quintus 12. 516–17.

E. Maass, *Hermes* 25 (1890), 403, interestingly suggested that this laurel, and likewise the palm of 4, were sacred trees growing in the grove of Apollo at Cyrene, and had been propagated from the original stock at Delphi and Delos; the practice of religious arboriculture is attested by Ovid, *Met.* 7. 623, where an oak in the precinct of Zeus in Aegina is described as 'sacra Iova quercus de semine Dodonaeo', and ps.-Aristotle, *de mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 51 cites the example of the olive at Olympia from which winning athletes' crowns were made: it had been grown from a cutting taken from an older tree which had itself been propagated from a tree at Pantheon: cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 3. 13 ff.

2. οἶα δ': the evidence of the papyrus is that οἶον and οἶα δ' were ancient variants. The archetype had οἶο δ', and from this Lascaris had conjectured οἶα δ', and Valckenaer (anticipated possibly by the writer of the 16th-c. MS. T, now lost) οἶον. On stylistic grounds, οἶα δ' is

preferable; in varying the οἶον of 1, it exemplifies Call.'s fondness for anaphora with variation at the beginnings of successive lines (for which cf. 6–7, 17–18, 26–7). οἶο δ' is presumably to be explained as the result of confusion between ο and α: cf. the unmetrical reading διδυμοτόκος of the archetype at 54.

While there is no strict parallel for this adverbial use introducing an exclamation in Homer, or elsewhere in Call. (though of course as a neuter plural accusative formally governed by a verb, as at *fr.* 194. 81, it introduces an exclamation), οἶα is used as equivalent to οἶον in other senses (e.g. = 'velut', κ 222, Call. *fr.* 41. 2).

ὄλον: a non-Homeric form: cf. *h.* 4. 72, 6. 34, *fr.* 329, Aratus 727, 796, 900, A.R. 2. 680 (epiphany of Apollo), 4. 1166. The Homeric form οὖλος occurs at 76 below.

μέλαθρον: 'temple', as at Pindar, *Pg.* 5. 40 (at Delphi); similarly Call. coins πονυλμέλαθρος 'possessing many temples' as an epithet for Artemis (*h.* 3. 225).

For the shaking of the site of Apollo's epiphany see the passages cited on 1, and cf. *h.hom.* 3. 403 ... πάντοσ' ἀνασσειάσκε, τίναςσε δὲ νῆϊα δοῦρα; A.R. 2. 679–80 ἡ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσίν | σείετο νῆσος ὅλη. Poseidon's epiphany at *N* 18–19 has a similar effect: ... τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη | ποσσίν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος, as has that of Hypnos and Hera at *E* 285: ... ἀκροτάτη δὲ ποδῶν ὑπο σείετο ὕλη. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 585 f., Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 1. 7 ff., and, in the Judaic-Christian tradition, *Ps.* 96 (LXX). 4. 98. 1, *Ev. Matt.* 27. 51, *Act. Ap.* 4. 31, 16. 26.

ἐκάς ἐκάς: for this variation in prosody cf. *ἡ* *ἡ* at 25 below, Theoc. *Id.* 6. 19 καλὰ καλὰ, with Gow's note; such cases derive from the classic model Ἄρες Ἄρες (*E* 31, 455), on which see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 103, 229. Here the lengthening is in part justified by Homeric lengthenings before the digamma of ἐκάς, e.g. at μ 435: cf. ὦ Ἐκάεργε in 11 below; but Call. is of course inconsistent in this respect, and the final syllable of μέλαθρον is unaffected by the first ἐκάς following it.

For the ritual significance of the repetition cf. *h.* 5. 1–2: ἔξτε ... ἔξτε, Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 258: 'procul o procul este profani', and see Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6. 46, and Headlam on Herodas 4. 61.

ὅστις ἀλιτρός: cf. the clausulae ὅστις ἀλιτρόν Solon, *fr.* 13. 27, ὅστις βίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς A.R. 2. 215, ὅστις ἀλιτροῦς Call. *fr.* 85. 14.

ἀλιτρός: Homeric, but rare, e.g. δαίμοσιν εἶναι ἀλιτρός, *Ψ* 595*. For the associations of the word and its cognates see K. Latte, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 20 (1920–1), 257 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 5): 'In der Regel ... richtet sich das ἀλιτεῖν gegen die Götter, so daß wir in ihm das eigentliche Wort der epischen Sprache für religiöse Vergehen zu erblicken haben.' In *fr.* 75. 68 the gods punish the Telchines εἵνεκ' ἀλιτρῆς | ὕβριος: cf. also *fr.* 85. 14, A.R. 2. 215. The adjective is humorously applied to pedantic grammarians by Philip of Thessalonica (*AP* 11. 321. 7* = Gow–Page, *Garland* 3039), in an epigram which employs a collage of Callimachean phrases to satirize imitators of Call.

3. *καὶ δὴ που*: this combination of particles seems to be unique in Call. (the reference in Pfeiffer's index to *h.* 3. 195 is erroneous). *καὶ δὴ* is here vivid and dramatic, almost equivalent to *ἦδη* (see Denniston, *Greek Particles*², 250 ff.; cf. esp. Eur. *Medea* 1065), but the indefinite *που* makes the utterance a conjecture ('It must be that Apollo is now kicking at the doors') seeking to explain the violent shaking mentioned in 1-2, rather than a report of a new phenomenon. Cf. Aratus 125-6: *καὶ δὴ που πόλεμοι, καὶ δὴ που ἀνάρσιον αἶμα | ἔσσεται ἀνθρώποις*, where the particles also follow an exclamation, and introduce a probable conjecture which predicts a specific consequence of a general tendency.

θύρετρα occurs, in this form only, four times in Homer, but only once with the article (*σ* 385*).

καλῶ: contrast *καλόν* in a Homeric phrase in 5. *καλά* is an ancient variant at *Σ* 197, and the short alpha form occurs in Hes. *Theog.* 585, *Works* 63 (see Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 107), and *h.hom.* 5. 29 (on which see Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos* . . . , 20-1).

καλῶ ποδί: *ποδί* is only once qualified by an adjective in Homer, at *ι* 43*: *διερῶ ποδί*; nor is *καλός* ever predicated of feet in Homer (though cf. *μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν*, of Apollo, *h.hom.* 3. 203). The un-Homeric flavour of the phrase (combined with the short alpha of *καλῶ*) has led some commentators (e.g. Kuiper) to suggest that here *καλῶ* is being used in its Attic sense 'auspicious': cf. Weinreich 38, 'Wer beim Eintritt stolpert oder mit der linken Fuss die Schwelle überschreitet, ist auch drinnen vor Schaden nicht sicher.' Others (e.g. Pasquali) simply see the adjective as reflecting the conventional motif of the beauty of the deity, but Fraenkel, *Horace*, 204 n. 4, points out that in the context of divine epiphanies 'special attention was paid to the god's gait, and sometimes also to the manner in which he was to set his feet on the ground and to his footwear'; of the passages he cites, Soph. *Ant.* 1144 and Aristoph. *Frogs* 330 f. are particularly apposite. There is perhaps a further point: at 107 it is with his foot that Apollo summarily expels Phthonos from his presence, and this detail looks forward to that incident.

Φοῖβος: in the usual Homeric *sedes* when used in the formula *Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*; but when *Φοῖβος* is used separately in Homer, it occurs in a different position. In the hymn *Φοῖβος* occurs 17 times, *Ἀπόλλων* 16 times; Call. uses them as alternatives, never combining them in the Homeric manner.

ἀράσσει: the simple verb is attested only once in Homer, at *ε* 248* ('hammer', literally), where *ἄρηνεν* and *ἀραρην* are variants. In Attic and later Greek generally it is the *mot juste* for knocking vigorously on doors: e.g. Eur. *IT* 1308, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 978, Theoc. *Id.* 2. 6, Herodas 1. 1 (with Headlam's note). Note how Call. has humorously varied the traditional motif: in other epic theophanies (examples cited on last line) the earth is said to tremble under the god's feet as he takes superhuman strides: here too the tremors are attributed to the god's foot, but in the everyday action of kicking on the door.

Cf. Weinreich, 70 n. 64, who rightly stresses that this line is a subjective interpretation of the noise and vibration already mentioned.

4. *οὐχ ὁράς*: the question addressed to an imaginary bystander increases the liveliness of this section. Cf. the same question at *H* 448*, *O* 555*, *Φ* 108*, *ρ* 545* (introducing an omen), Aratus 733* (in the context of signs sent by the gods).

ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἡδύ τι φοῖνιξ: in Homer *ἐπινεύειν* has a divine subject, and means 'nod assent', with one exception; e.g. *A* 528 ἦ, καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων; *O* 75 (Zeus is speaking) ὥς οἱ ὑπέστην πρῶτον, ἐμῶ δ' ἐπένευσα κάρητι; *π* 164 (the subject is Athene) ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε, νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς. Cf. *h.hom.* 1. 13, 2. 169, 466, 5. 222, Pindar, *Is.* 8. 49-50, Antipater Thess., *AP* 6. 198. 5. Similarly elsewhere in Call. the verb has this sense, and a divine subject: *h.* 3. 28, 5. 131, 135. Thus the reader is led to expect that the subject will be a god: in this context, of course, Apollo. This expectation is reinforced by *ὁ Δῆλιος* (in Call. the singular adjective *Δήλιος* is elsewhere applied only to the god: *fr.* 114. 4, 202. 47, *h.* 4. 268). *ἡδύ τι* further suggests the joyful assent of the god to manifest himself, and even the first syllable of *φοῖνιξ* adds to the effect: one still expects *Φοῖβος*. But instead of the god giving his consent, it is a date-palm nodding merrily; yet even this surprising use of the verb has a Homeric model in the single occurrence of *ἐπινεύειν* meaning 'to nod' *simpliciter*, *X* 314. There the subject is not a god, but Achilles: . . . κόρυθι δ' ἐπένευε φαεινῇ | τετραφάλῳ, καλαὶ δὲ περισσεῖοντο ἔθειραι. The same epic rarity is reproduced by Theoc. *Id.* 22. 186: . . . ἀμφοτέρους δὲ λόφων ἐπένευον ἔθειραι.

ὁ Δῆλιος . . . φοῖνιξ: the famous palm-tree of Delos is first mentioned at *ζ* 162-3 *Δῆλῳ δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶ | φοῖνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα*. According to one version of the story, Leto grasped its trunk during labour (*h.hom.* 3. 117-18; Theognis 1. 5 ff.; Call. *h.* 4. 209 ff.; cf. Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 219). Since this palm-tree is here described as 'Delian', commentators have tended to argue that the setting of the hymn cannot be Delos, on the grounds that the adjective would be otiose; but as no indication of the place has been given, this argument is not conclusive. Wilamowitz (*Hel-lenistische Dichtung*, ii. 81) interpreted it as 'eine Palme wie in Delos': cf. Cahen ad loc., 'une épithète tout à fait générale'. Maass's hypothesis (see on 1) of the propagation of the Delian palm-tree would leave one free to suppose the poem to be set in Cyrene, or indeed to attribute the use of the adjective to Callimachus' desire to mystify his readers.

ἡδύ τι: for this adverbial use of the neuter singular + *τι* cf. *διζυρόν τι* 24 below, *ἐκπαγλόν τι* *h.* 4. 247, *ἄφατόν τι* *h.* 5. 77, 6. 57, *πουλύ τι* *h.* 5. 58, *ἀδύ τι* Theoc. *Id.* 1. 1, 5. 89.

5. *ἐξαπίνης*: frequently in this *sedes* in Homer (*κ* 557, *ξ* 29, etc.); cf. *h.* 4. 103*, Aratus 863*. Suddenness is normal in epiphanies: see Headlam on Herodas 1. 9, and cf. *ἐξαπίνης* *h.* 6. 60*, *ἐξαπιναῖα* *h.* 1. 50.

ὁ . . . κύκνος: the swan is closely connected with Apollo. Swans sang at his birth (*h.* 4. 249 ff.) and swans draw his chariot (Alcaeus 142, scholia to A.R. 2. 498 = Wendel 168. 18). Sometimes Apollo rides on a single swan: cf. Nonnus, *D.* 38. 206 κύκνον ἔχει πτερόεντα καὶ οὐ ταχὺν ἵππον Ἀπόλλων. On a red-figured hydria of the early 4th century (London B.M. E 232: see *B.M. Cat. Vases*, iii. 182-3; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II. i. 460 ff. with good illustrations, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* B.M. 6 (8), pl. 96 (371) 3) Apollo is depicted carrying a laurel-branch, seated on a swan which is about to land on the flowering earth beside a palm-tree, presumably an illustration of the kind of epiphany-scene Call. is suggesting here. To speculate whether the role of the swan as *Zugtier* is compatible with Apollo's kicking at the gates in 3, is to seek for a greater degree of logic and consistency than is to be expected in an excited presentation of the worshippers' reactions: cf. Weinreich, 71 n. 69.

W. G. Arnott points out (against D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, 179 ff.) that the singing swan suggests *Cygnus cygnus*, the 'whooper' swan, which has a loud trumpeting call, and is a winter vagrant to the Mediterranean, rather than *Cygnus olor*, the 'mute' swan, even though the wing-beats of the latter make a loud sound which some observers describe as 'song-like'.

ἐν ἡέρι: birds fly δι' ἡέρος at A.R. 2. 933*, 1034*, and ἀήρ in these cases is indisputably the 'lower air', as in *E* 288*. Aristarchus alleged that in Homer ἀήρ always has this meaning, whereas αἰθήρ is the upper air (Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*³, 163 ff.); in fact, ἀήρ in Homer more often, though not invariably, denotes 'mist' (or 'the very stuff of invisibility', as West puts it on Hesiod, *Theog.* 9). The Hellenistic poets observed no such distinction: the same phrase ἐν ἡέρι means 'in the heavens' at *fr.* 110. 7. Cf. Bühler on Moschus, *Eur.* 144.

καλὸν αἰεῖδει: cf. καλὸν αἰεῖδε *Σ* 570*, καλὸν αἰεῖδεν α 155*, θ 266*, καλὸν αἰεῖδεν *h.hom.* 4. 54, 502. Cf. also *h.hom.* 21 (to Apollo). 1 Φοῖβε, σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' αἰεῖδει. Note that the alpha of καλὸν is long, as at 36, 59, 77; contrast κάλῳ 3: for such variations of prosody in close vicinity cf. ὕδατι 109, ὕδωρ 110.

6. αὐτοί . . . : cf. the 'Homeric' *Εἰρεσιώνη* (*ep.* 15) 3: αὐταὶ ἀνακλίνεσθε θύραι . . . At Hera's approach (*E* 749 = *Θ* 393) αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ . . . Cf. A.R. 4. 41-2 τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτόματοι θυρέων ὑπέειξαν ὄχῃς | ὠκείαις ἄφορροι ἀναθρώσκοντες αἰδαῖς. For the motif of *Türöffnung* in general see Weinreich's study mentioned above, and H. Herter, *RM* 89 (1940), 152-7.

νῦν: i.e. now that a second set of signs (the movement of the palm, the song of the swan) has confirmed the earlier indications that the epiphany is imminent.

κατοχῆς: a very rare word, first attested here, and probably a Callimachean coinage, formed from κατέχειν on the model of Homeric ὄχεύς (*M* 455 etc.) from ἔχειν. For the phrase κατοχῆς . . . πυλάων cf. θυρέων . . . ὄχῃς φ 47. The ὄχῃς are bars which fasten the door on the inside (*M* 455, Aratus 192-3).

ἀνακλίνασθε: the more vivid aorist form is attested in the quotation of this line in the scholia to Theoc. *Id.* 11. 12 (cf. the papyrus reading ἐντύνασθε at 8). Note the play on κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνασθε: cf. Bühler on Moschus, *Eur.* 4. Call. applies the verb not to the doors themselves (as in the Homeric example cited above) but to their fastenings, which suggests that he may have understood the νέφος of *E* 751 (= *Θ* 395) as serving the purpose of a door-lock rather than being identical with the actual πύλαι οὐρανοῦ.

πυλάων: the more usual Homeric form of the genitive, in one of its regular *sedes* (cf. *Z* 80*, A.R. 1. 844*). At *h.* 3. 147 Call. uses the rarer Homeric form πυλέων: cf. A.R. 1. 634, 782. The Homeric distinction between πύλαι = 'gates of a city' (or of a comparable settlement, such as the Achaean camp) and θύραι = 'doors of a house' (see Lehrs, 124) is generally observed in Hellenistic epic, but at A.R. 3. 216 Aeetes' palace has πύλαι, as befits its size and magnificence; similarly here for Apollo's temple the πυλάων of the manuscripts are more appropriate than the variant θυράων found in the Theocritus scholia and the text of the papyrus, especially after θύρετρα in 3. (For the variation in readings cf. A.R. 1. 786.)

7. αὐταί: for the anaphora with polyptoton at the beginning of consecutive lines cf. 1-2, 17-18.

δέ: such lengthenings are the rule in this hymn (cf. δτε κλείουσιν 18, δὲ Κλάριον 70), though elsewhere Call. sometimes leaves the final vowel short (e.g. Αἰδὶ κλήρον *h.* 1. 62).

κληῖδες: presumably the bolts fastening the ὄχῃς: cf. *M* 456. In this sense the word is normally singular in Homer; the nom. pl. occurs only once, at *X* 324* (meaning 'collar-bones'). Again of door-fastenings at A.R. 3. 822; cf. *Eur. Bacch.* 448.

ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακράν: cf. *h.* 5. 3, where the report of the sound of Pallas' horses is followed by the claim . . . καὶ ἃ θεὸς εὐτυκος ἔρπεν and the command to the worshippers. Similarly at Theoc. *Id.* 2. 35-6: Θεστυλί, ται κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται | ἃ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισιν τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἄχει, the same sequence recurs.

The definite article occurs frequently in these opening lines (there are 13 examples in 1-16), and there is a similar cluster of 12 examples in 28-34; cf. the opening of *h.* 4 (*τὴν ἱερὴν . . . | Δῆλον*), 5. 1-3, 6. 1, 3; see also Santangelo, 61. What all these passages have in common is the naming of sacred objects, divine attributes, and the actual deity (cf. Cahen, *Callimaque*, 459). Svensson, *Der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels . . .*, 60 ff. seeks to distinguish between 'non-epic' elements of the hymn (1-46, 105-113, totalling 55 lines, in which there are 34 occurrences of the article) and the 'epic narrative' (47-107, in which he finds 4 cases: but 72 should not be included, so the number should be 3). However, some examples are clearly demonstrative: e.g. ὁ δακρύνει . . . πέτρος (22) 'that famous weeping rock'; τὸν αἰδόν (106) 'this particular poet', as the indicative αἰεῖδει shows; ἡ in 54 is generic; τὰ πρῶτα at 58 and 64 is a common Homeric adverbial phrase. All the remaining examples are applied to persons

and objects which the poet visualizes as present at the imagined ceremony.

μακράν was the reading of the archetype: the papyrus has μακρην, which had been conjectured by Meineke, to give it the appearance of an Ionic form, though μακρήν = 'far away' is not attested in early epic. This passage contains several other Atticisms (δλον, καλῶ, ἀράσσει) and μακράν should not be changed even in deference to the papyrus, which may be attempting to make the diction more obviously 'epic' (cf. its unmetrical ἡλυθε at 37). Cf. the coexistence of the forms θεά and θεή in Call. and Apollonius, reproducing a lexical feature of early epic: see Loeb, *De Elocutione Callimachi*, i. 9, Giangrande, *CR* 21 (1971), 356. For Atticisms in the text of Homer see Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*², 10 ff., and s.v. 'Dialect' in the Subject Index (p. 365); for Atticisms in Hesiod (especially λαμπράν Σελήνην, *Theog.* 19, 371) see West, *Hesiod: Theogony*, p. 81, Edwards, *Language of Hesiod*, 102.

8. οἱ... νέοι... ἐντύνασθε: for the article + nominative + imperative cf. *h.* 5. 47-8 σάμερον αἰ δῶλαι τὰς κάλπιδας ἢ 'ς Φυσάδειαν | ἢ ἐς Ἀμυμώναν οἶστε τὰν Δαναῶν, Plato, *Symp.* 218 b οἱ δὲ οἰκέται... πύλας... τοῖς ὡσὶν ἐπίθεσθε. Such expressions are not limited to specifically sacral language, as Pasquali suggests here: cf. Theoc. *Id.* 1. 151-2: αἰ δὲ χίμαιραι | οὐ μὴ σκιρτασεῖτε; *Id.* 4. 45; Paul, *Ep. Col.* 3. 18-4. 1.

μολπήν: Aristarchus maintained that μολπή and μέλπεσθαι in Homer referred always to 'playing' (and especially to 'dancing'), never to 'singing' (see Lehrs, 138); he was led therefore to athetize *A* 474, where μέλποντες must be interpreted as 'singing':

οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπή θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο 472
καλὸν αἰδόντες παῖθ' ἄνθρωποι Ἀχαιῶν
μέλποντες ἑκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων.

Call. indicates that μολπή can mean 'singing' (cf. *h.* 4. 249... κύκνοι δὲ θεοῦ μέλποντες αἰδοί), as a distinct activity from χορός, though the two may be complementary, as at *p* 605-6... οἱ δ' ὄρχηστ' αἰδοῖ | αἰδοῖ | τέρποντ', or *A.R.* 2. 714: χορεῖν μέλψαν αἰδοῖ.

μολπήν is governed by ἐς; for this construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ see Wilamowitz on Eur. *Heracles*, 237, Bentley on Horace, *Odes*, 3. 25. 2. Examples in Call. are listed by Lapp, *De Callimachi Cyrenaei Tropis et Figuris*, 77-8; cf. especially *fr.* 67. 5: ... ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν Ἰουλίδος, ἡ δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου.

ἐντύνασθε: the middle is intransitive at *ζ* 33, *μ* 18, cf. *A.R.* 3. 510, but more usually in Homer both active and middle are transitive, e.g. *μ* 183: ἐντυνον αἰδοῖν ('began her song'), *h.hom.* 6. 20: ἐμῇ δ' ἐντυνον αἰδοῖν (? 'inspire my song'), *Ω* 124: ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον ('were preparing breakfast'). The clausula is imitated by Moschus, *Eur.* 30: ... ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνατο, and by Colluthus 4: ... ἐς χορὸν... ἐπεντύνασθε. The precise meaning of the phrase in these contexts is discussed by Bühler on Moschus, *Eur.* 30; he concludes that it is 'choream inire', 'zum Tanz ansetzen', and is equivalent to such expressions as χορὸν ἀρτύνειν /

ἀρτίζεσθαι / ἱστάναι. While the sense 'prepare yourselves for the song and dance' would be possible here (whereas in Moschus it would be nonsensical), 'begin your singing and dancing' is more vivid, and explains the concern expressed in 12-15, when the boys have not begun the performance.

9-16. 'Only the noble will see Apollo in his glory. May the youths sing and dance in his presence, and thus win his approval... I applaud the youths! They have begun!' These lines convey the narrator's excitement and his impatience at the momentary delay. His expression of joy when at last the ritual begins (16) suggests also that the temple-doors are now open, and the epiphany proper is taking place.

9. ὠπόλλων: for the crasis cf. 1, 28, 69, 107; *h.* 1. 33; *fr.* 24. 3, 31(c). 5; *ep.* 8. 6; Theoc. *Id.* 5. 82. Crases were admitted to the text of Homer by Zenodotus (e.g. ὦλλοι at *B* 1, *K* 1): see Kühner-Blass, i. 225, H. Erbse, *Hermes* 81 (1953), 164. Aristarchus, however, rejected them: see Ludwig, *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, i. 202; cf. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*², 69 ff., La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, i. 283 ff. For the practice of Hellenistic poets see Merkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (1854), p. lxxix, and Vian on *A.R.* 3. 176, Gow-Page on *Garland* 535 (= *AP* 9. 238. 1).

οὐ παντί...: the restriction of epiphanies to a specific recipient is frequent; e.g. *A* 198 (Athene to Achilles) οἶω φαινόμενη τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τις ὄρατο, *π* 160-1 (Athene to Odysseus) οὐδ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἶδεν ἀντίον οὐδ' ἐνόησεν, | οὐ γὰρ πως πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς, Aesch. *Ch.* 1061 (the Furies to Orestes) ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐχ ὄρατε τάσδ', ἐγὼ δ' ὄρω, *Act. Ap.* 9. 7 (Saul on the road to Damascus) οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ εἰσθήκεισαν ἐννεοί, ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδὲνα δὲ θεωροῦντες. Often, as here, the epiphany is limited to those who in moral or ritual terms are fit to receive it: e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 501-2 — καὶ ποῦ σ' ἴω; οὐ γὰρ φανερός ὄμμασιν γ' ἐμοῖς. | — παρ' ἐμοί· σὺ δ' ἀσεβὴς αὐτὸς ὦν οὐκ εἰσορᾷς. Cf. *η* 201 ff., Hippocrates, *Lex* 4. 642 Littré, Aratus 120-2, Catullus 64. 384 ff., and other evidence cited by Pfister, 'Epiphanie' (*RE Supp.-Bd.* 4. 278 ff.) 319 ff., and A. D. Nock, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 27 (1934), 53-104, especially 73.

φαίνεται: not a mere inept variation of φαίνεται *metri causa*, as is commonly supposed, e.g. by Cahen ad loc.: 'le mot n'est ici qu'une *variatio* peu justifiable de vocabulaire'; cf. the observations of LSJ s.v. φαίνω, and the renderings of Mair ('appear'), and Howald-Staiger ('zeigt sich'). In Homer φαίνειν invariably means 'to shine', 'to give light', and the subject is normally the sun; e.g. *γ* 1-2 Ἥλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε... | ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαίνοι; *μ* 383, where Helios threatens δύσομαι εἰς Αἶδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαίνω. Similarly elsewhere in Call. the meaning is 'to shine', the subject the sun: *fr.* 177. 6-7... ἡελίου | ... ὡς κείνος Ὀφεινίδησι φαίνει, *fr.* 260. 65 ἡδὴ γὰρ ἐωθὺνὰ λύχνα φαίνει. In all twelve occurrences in Aratus (who prefers the middle to the active: cf. 619*, 713*, 1147*) the word means 'to shine'.

This sense is particularly apt here, for when the gods manifest themselves to mortals, they radiate brilliant light: 'miraculous light betokens the presence of the Gods' (Allen-Halliday-Sikes on *h.hom.* 2. 189); cf. Pfister, col. 315, 'Glanz'. This is particularly true of Apollo, e.g. *h.hom.* 3. 440-2 ἐνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρουσεν ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων | ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἡματι τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλαί | σπινθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει, A.R. 2. 681-2 . . . οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | ἀντίον ἀγνάσσειν εἰς ὄμματα καλὰ θεοῖο. Cf. A.R. 4. 1710, Wernicke, 'Apollon' (*RE* ii. 1-112), 19: 'Gott der Helligkeit und des Lichtes.' Further, Apollo by the third century was frequently identified with the sun: see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 302, J. Diggle, *Euripides: Phaethon* (Cambridge, 1970), 147. If, as I feel is probable but not conclusively demonstrable, Call. alludes to this identification in this hymn (cf. 52, 93), the use of φαίνεται is doubly appropriate. The other alleged case of φαίνεσθαι = 'appear', A.R. 4. 1362, is in fact an emphatic contrast between the brightness of the Nymphs and the darkness of night: see *Quad. Urb.* 19 (1975), 133.

ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός: the clausula recurs at Kaibel, *EG* 259. 3 (? 2nd c. A.D.).

ὅτις: a Homeric form, e.g. *a* 47, *Γ* 279. For the ellipse of the demonstrative pronoun cf. 111 below.

ἐσθλός: at *h.hom.* 3. 392 Apollo manifests himself to Cretan sailors who are ἐσθλοί; however, for a suggestion that ἐσθλός may sometimes be used as a specifically literary term of commendation see *CQ* 21 (1971), 143 n. 1.

10. ἴδη . . . ἴδε: the *enallage modorum* (for parallels see Giangrande, *Hermes*, 98 (1970), 268) introduces an element of *variatio* into the neatly balanced line; the papyrus has trivialized it.

μέγας: it is a pre-condition of the theophany that the recipient should be ἐσθλός; it is a consequence that he becomes μέγας, as the next line shows. For the motif of the θεοφιλεῖς profiting from their relationship with the deity cf. Hes. *Theog.* 96-7; anon., *vita Sophoclis* 12, Archibald Cameron, *Miscellanea Rostagni*, 304-5, Pfister, 320. It is unusual for Call. to use μέγας as a term of approbation: he normally uses it with pejorative overtones (cf. Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 136).

λίτος (defined in *Et. Mag.* as ὁ πένης καὶ δημότης) is comparatively rarely used of persons: cf. *fr.* 384. 32 (the river Nile, personified), Polybius 6. 48. 7, Antiphilus, *AP* 6. 250. 1, Bianor, *AP* 11. 364; it is more frequently applied to such things as garments (e.g. Men. *Samia* 379, id. *fr.* 375) and diet: cf. *h.* 5. 25, *fr.* 110. 78 (of cosmetics). It is again contrasted with μέγας by Antipater Thess., *AP* 7. 18. 1.

ἐκείνος: note the assonance with ἐσθλός at the end of the previous line; cf. 39-40, 78-80, and for other instances see Lapp, 143. Call. uses both ἐκείνος and κείνος, and both forms are attested in the vulgate of Homer (Chantraine, i. 276-7), though Aristarchus attempted to remove several examples of ἐκείνος. There are no certain cases of ἐκείνος in A.R.: see McLennan on *h.* 1. 38.

11. ὀψόμεθ' . . . ἐσσόμεθ': the careful balance of 10 is maintained: cf. 26-7, 93-6.

ὦ Ἐκάεργε: note the hiatus, due to observance of the digamma: contrast ἦμος ἐκηβολήν in 99. The vocative Ἐκάεργε occurs nine times in Homer, always in this *sedes*, but never with ὦ. ²Ω is especially appropriate in this epicletic context; cf. 69 (the beginning of a 16-line passage in *Du-Stil*), 79, on which see Giangrande, *CQ* 18 (1968), 52-9, especially 57: 'Callimachus explicitly claims a "special relationship" with the god.'

The two ancient etymologies of the title (e.g. Eustathius 138. 28: ὁ ἐκάθεν εἴργων ὡς τοξότης . . . ἢ ὁ ἐκάθεν ἐργαζόμενος τὰ περὶ γῆν ὡς ἥλιος) both stress Apollo's remoteness; thus Call. enhances implicitly the favour shown by Apollo in manifesting himself. For a modern etymological theory see R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache* . . . , 176.

καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὐποτε λιτοί: cf. *h.* 4. 273: . . . καὶ ἔσομαι οὐκέτι πλαγκτή (again, as a result of Apollo's epiphany).

12. μήτε . . . ἔχειν (13): for the construction cf. *B* 412-13, which express, also in the context of a prayer, a wish relating to the future: Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων | μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἥλιον δύναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἔλθειν . . . Cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 317 ('l'idée de "donne, accorde" étant implicite'), Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 313. σιωπήλην: previously attested in poetry only at Eur. *Medea*, 320. Cf. *h.* 4. 302 (in a similar context) οὔτε σιωπήλην οὔτ' ἄψοφον . . .

ἄψοφον: another seemingly tragic word: cf. Soph. *Trach.* 967, Eur. *Tr.* 887; but it is also used as a technical term by Aristotle, *de anima* 2. 418^b26, 420^a7.

ἵχνος: 'foot', again a usage first found in tragedy: Eur. *El.* 103, *Bacch.* 1134, *Orestes* 140, but not uncommon in Hellenistic and later epic: *h.* 4. 230, A.R. 1. 184, 3. 1263, 1396, Euphorion, *fr.* 17 Pow., Colluthus 231. (At Herodas 7. 20 the word means 'shoe', *pace* LSJ: cf. *ibid.* 113.)

13. τοὺς παῖδας: the youths are presumably visualized as singing and dancing to the accompaniment of lyre-music: see Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, 100.

ἐπιδημήσαντος: for six-syllable words ending the line, incorporating a fifth-foot spondee, cf. 55, *h.* 1. 46, 3. 36, 223, 237. Homer has the verb ἐπιδημεῖν ('stay in town', π 28), and the adjective ἐπιδήμιος ('at home, among one's own people', α 194, 233, etc.). Call. varies both forms, using the verb ἐπιδημεῖν here, and the adjective ἐπίδημος at *h.* 3. 226, *fr.* 75. 26. Ἐπιδημεῖν is of course a frequent verb in Attic prose, and one of its senses is 'to be in town' specifically for a religious festival (used of human participants): e.g. Demosthenes 21. 176, 217, 59. 23. For the sense of deities taking up residence in their own shrines see Aristoph. *Thesm.* 40 ff. (an epiphany passage) . . . ἐπιδημεῖ γάρ | θιάσος Μουσῶν ἔνδον μελάρων | τῶν δεσποσύνων μελοποιῶν, *SIG*³ 1169. 85 τοῦ θ]εοῦ οὐκ ἐπιδαμοῦντος αὐτοῦ . . .; cf. Pindar, *P.* 4. 5 οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος.

The tense of the participle does not necessarily convey that Apollo

is thought of as already present, though this seems highly likely: the narrator is concerned lest, when he has actually manifested himself, the chorus should fail to greet him, and thus incur his displeasure.

14. *τελέειν*: future, as frequently in Homer, e.g. *Θ* 415, *M* 59, *δ* 485; on such non-sigmatic futures see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 449–50. Bentley's conjecture *τελέσειν* (the form occurs as a variant in Homer: see La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, i. 269) is therefore unnecessary.

τελέειν . . . *γάμον*: *τελέειν* is doubly appropriate: (i) in the sense of 'achieve', 'accomplish', for which cf. *δ* 7 *θεοὶ γάμον ἐξετέλειον* (sc. for mortals), *ν* 74 *τέλος θαλεροῖο γάμοιο* (where see Monro's note), Aristotle, *fr.* 549 *ῥοσέ ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρὸς*; (ii) in the sense of 'celebrate' the *τέλος*, religious rite, of marriage: see scholia to Aristoph. *Thesm.* 973, LSJ s.v. *τέλος*, 6. Cf. *fr.* 63. 11 *νύμφια λέκτρα τελέσσαι*, A.R. 4. 1161 *γάμον . . . τελέσσαι*, Lycophron 1386–7 *γάμους . . . | τελεῖν* (in the last case the phrase is probably used blasphemously).

μέλλουσι: *μέλλειν* + future infinitive is frequent in Homer: cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 307 ff.; 'Le futur se trouve surtout, chez Homère, lorsque l'idée de destin est impliquée, lorsque l'accent est mis sur l'énonciation d'un événement à venir plutôt que sur la volonté' (ibid. 308).

πολὴν: sc. *κόμην*, as at Antipater Thess., *AP* 6. 198. 4, Agathias, *AP* 5. 220. 1, Isidorus, *AP* 6. 58. 3, and possibly Alexis, *fr.* 71 K. Cf. the similar ellipse at Pindar, *Ol.* 4. 30 *φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις ἐν ἀνδράσιν πολιᾷ* . . .

πολὴν τε κερεῖσθαι: a Callimachean puzzle, designed (like the 'Delian palm' of 4) to perplex the learned reader by a reversal of a specific Homeric idiom; the meaning becomes clear only after reading the next line. In Homer *κεῖρεσθαι* always means cutting one's hair in mourning: *κ. κόμην* (*δ* 198, *Ψ* 46), *κ. χαίτας* (*ω* 46) *τριχὰς κ.* (*Ψ* 136); thus here, where the verb governs a comparable object, *πολὴν*, the phrase, when read in the light of Homeric usage, suggests 'to mourn in old age', a misfortune regarded in antiquity as a reversal of the rightful order of nature (cf. E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der 'Mors Immatura' in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften* (Innsbruck, 1966), 44–7, R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962), 187 ff.). Indeed this is the meaning at *h.* 3. 126 *κείρονται δὲ γέροντες ἐφ' υἱάσιν* . . . where this is one of the punishments inflicted on the unjust by Artemis; but it would of course be highly inappropriate here. Schneider proposed *κυρεῖσθαι*, 'arrive at', a trivialization, after rejecting the actual solution of the problem, which is to be found in the offering of cuttings of hair to the gods (and especially to Apollo) at decisive moments of life. (For this custom see Plutarch, *Theseus* 5, Frazer on Paus. 3. 279, *RE* vii. 2105 ff., 2118.) Such dedications of hair are the subject of numerous epigrams in *AP* 6: e.g. Euphorion, *AP* 6. 279, Crinagoras, *AP* 6. 242. When these dedications are made by boys or young men, it is normal for the wish to be expressed that they will live to dedicate clippings of their hair even when it is white with

age. For example, Rhianus, *AP* 6. 278, 3–4 (= Gow–Page, *HE* 3244–5) *Φοῖβε, σὺ δ' Ἰλαος, Δελφίνιε, κοῦρον ἀέξοις | εὐμοῖρον λευκὴν ἄχρῃς ἐφ' ἡλικίην*, Antipater Thessalonicens, *AP* 6. 198. 3–4 (= Gow–Page, *Garland* 635–6) *Φοῖβω θῆκε Λύκων πρῶτον γέρας, εὖξάτο δ' οὕτως | καὶ πολὴν λευκῶν κείραι ἀπὸ κροτάφων*, Crinagoras, *AP* 6. 242, 5–6 (= Gow–Page, *Garland* 1817–18) *δαίμονες ἀλλὰ δέχοισθε καὶ αὐτίκα τῶνδ' ἀπ' οὐλῶν | Εὐκλείδην πολὴς ἄχρῃς ἄγοιτε τριχός*. In addition to such prayers for longevity, it is customary in such contexts to express the desire that the young man may grow to manhood and independence (e.g. Theodoridas, *AP* 6. 155, 5–6) and success and prosperity in life (e.g. Euphorion, *AP* 6. 279, 3–4, Crinagoras, *AP* 6. 161). Similar wishes are expressed here: that in return for their devotion to Apollo, they may achieve maturity (here expressed in the words *τελέειν γάμον*), long life, and the prosperity of their city (15).

15. *ἐστήξειν*: future infinitive (in form, future perfect: cf. *τεθνήξειν*; see Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, 444) of *ἵστημι*, with intransitive force, 'shall stand'; cf. the Homeric *εἰρεσιώνη* (*ep.* 16 = *vita Herodotea* 479 Allen), Thuc. 3. 37. 3, Aristoph. *Lys.* 634, Xen. *Cyr.* 6. 2. 17. The assertion of the scholia to this line (Pfeiffer, ii. 49) that this is a 'Syracusan' form, from a present *ἐστήκω*, probably means no more than that such forms were used by a Syracusan author (e.g. Epicharmus, or Theocritus); the present is now attested once only, in Posidippus (Gow–Page, *HE* 3129).

τὸ τεῖχος: the subject of the line, with *μέλλει* understood from *μέλλουσι* in the previous line (for parallels see Lapp, 78 ff.). 'The city-wall' represents, by synecdoche, the city itself: cf. 67, *fr.* 635; but if the ritual 'frame' of the hymn is set, like the narrative inset (65–96), in Cyrene, the line may have a further significance (see on 94). However that may be, the sense of the line is, clearly, 'if the city is to continue under its traditional order', a wish which is too general and conventional (cf. *h.* 3. 134) for political or chronological conclusions to be drawn. With *τεῖχος* here cf. *τείχεα* 67; the same oscillation between the singular and plural is found in Homer, e.g. *τείχος Ἀχαιῶν* *M* 64, *τείχεα Θήβης* *B* 691.

ἀρχαίοισι: *ἀρχαῖος* is not found in Homer or A.R., but is used by Aratus (99, 103, 408) and recurs frequently in Call.

θεμέθλοις: Homeric, though not of buildings: *Ε* 493* *ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμεθλα*, *P* 47* *στομάχοιο θέμεθλα*, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 816* *ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις*, Pindar, *P.* 4. 16 *ἐν Ἀμμωνος θεμέθλοις*, A.R. 4. 118* *βαμοῖο θέμεθλα*, Triphiodorus 40–1 *εἰσθίκει δ' ἐτι πᾶσα θεοδμήτων ὑπὸ πύργων | Ἴλιος ἀκλυνέουσιν ἐπεμβεβαυῖα θεμέθλοις*. Call. varies the form with *θεμεῖλια* at 57, 64 below, reproducing a Homeric variation, and coins *θεμεῖλον* *h.* 3. 248 (on which see Schmitt, *Nominalbildung*, 166). For a possible imitation of this line by Rhianus see P.Oxy. 2522 A 17.

16. *ἡγασάμην*: 'Well done the youths' (Mair); 'Loben muß ich die Kinder' (Howald–Staiger). This type of 'instantaneous' aorist is misleadingly labelled 'Attic' by the commentators here (e.g. Kuiper,

Canen, Kranz), who cite such well-known examples as ἐπήνεσα (Soph. *Aj.* 536). While numerous Attic and neo-Attic examples can be found (cf. Jannaris, 437, Kühner-Gerth, i. 163-5, Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 614), the usage also occurs in epic, especially (as here) to express emotions just conceived: e.g. *I* 415 . . . ὡς νῦν ἐκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα; cf. *E* 423, Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 184. It is particularly appropriate after the aorists ἐσείσατο (1) and ἐπένευσεν (4) which also report events immediately after their occurrence, where English would probably use present tenses; cf. also the aorists of 105 and 107.

ἀγασθαι itself is Homeric, e.g. σ 71, ψ 211, and ἡγασάμην is frequently used in this sense by Christodorus, *AP* 2. 117*, 148*, 209*.

χέλυσ: 'tortoise' for 'lyre' first occurs in *h.hom.* 4, where Hermes' invention of the lyre is related, and there is much play on the two meanings (see 24, 25, 33, 153, 242). The scholia here explain χέλυσ as κιθάρα, though strictly speaking the cithara did not have a tortoise-shell as its sound-box: cf. *OCD*² s.v. 'Music', § 9 'instruments'.

The upsilon is long in Homer and at Aratus 268 (LSJ err here), short here and at Oppian, *Hal.* 5. 404.

ἀεργός: twice in Homer (*I* 320, τ 27), but of persons: cf. Hes. *Works* 303*.

χέλυσ οὐκέτ' ἀεργός: a witticism which depends on the ambiguity of χέλυσ. The general sense is, clearly, that the lyre is now being played; but the somewhat archaic diction has mostly been ignored by commentators, apart from Kuiper, who expresses headmasterly disapproval: 'Neque laudari potest illa imago, rustica sane imitatio imaginis elegantioris σιωπηλῇ κίθαρις, neque quaeri necesse est cui talia debeat.' It was a traditional paradox that the χέλυσ when alive was voiceless, but when dead could sing (as a lyre): cf. Hermes' words at *h.hom.* 4. 37-8 ἦ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσεαι ἔχμα | ζῶουσ' ἦν δὲ θάνης τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν ἀείδους. The motif is taken up and exploited by Sophocles in the *Ichneutae*; cf. especially 239-40 (Page's enumeration)—καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγμα τοιοῦτον βρέμειν; | —πιθοῦ· θανὼν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἀναυδὸς ἦν ὁ θήρ. Cf. also Nican- der, *Alex.* 560-1 αὐδῆσσαν ἔθηκεν ἀναύδητόν περ εἶδον | Ἑρμείης, and the riddle of *AP* 14. 30, as solved by A. G. Carrington, *Mnem.* 14 (1961), 22, and K. A. Rockwell, *ibid.* 241; Pacuvius, *Antiope*, fr. 1. 3 d'Anna, 'eviscerata inanima cum animali sono', Horace, *Odes*, 3. 11. 3-6, 'tuque testudo resonare septem / callida nervis / nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et / divitum mensis et amica templis'. Call. gives a new turn to the paradox. Tortoises were notorious for laziness: Seneca, *de ben.* 7. 9. 2 calls them 'pigerrima animalia'; cf. Babrius, *fab.* 177 Crusius, Oppian, *Hal.* 5. 25-6. But now the χέλυσ, being no longer a tortoise, is no longer ἀεργός: it is a lyre, it is making music, and causing the dancers' feet to move.

17-24. The narrator orders the worshippers to keep silent during the singing of the paean; the sea is silent while Apollo's praises are sung, and even Thetis and Niobe cease to mourn for their children.

17. εὐφημεῖτ': the technical sense of 'refrain from uttering words of ill omen', hence 'be silent' occurs already in Homer, *I* 171 φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, εὐφημήσαι τε κέλεσθε, on which see Leaf's note, and Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1920), 247 n. 1; contrast the 'secular' sense of the compound ἐπευφήμησαν at *A* 22 = 376 'they shouted their approval'. For the significance of silence in Greek religious worship see Richardson, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, p. 307. In particular, silence is the appropriate reaction of a respectful worshipper to the epiphany of a god: cf. Odysseus' words at the epiphany of Athene, τ 42-3 σίγα καὶ κατὰ σὸν νόον ἴσχανε μηδ' ἐρέεινε | αὐτῇ τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλύμπιον ἔχουσιν, Pfister, 318.

αἰόντες: cf. ι 401*, ξ 226*, ρ 435*, ω 415*.

ἐπ' + dative combines the notions of duration, as at *T* 229 . . . ἐπ' ἡματι δακρύσαντας, and of purpose, as at *p* 44 . . . ἐπὶ δόρπῳ | κατθέμεθα.

Ἀπόλλωνος: thus scanned, with long initial vowel, at *A* 14 etc. See E. Hermann, *Sprachwissenschaftlicher Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stücken aus Homer* (Heidelberg, 1914), 110 ff., van Leeuwen, *Enchiridion*, 89, Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 102. In this hymn, the initial vowel is always long in the oblique cases, where the word is placed in the body of the line (27, 39, 105), short in the nominative (except, of course, in cases of crasis), which is placed at the verse-end (34, 42, 51, 61, 68, 93).

18. εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος: for the notion that the natural world observes ritual silence at a god's epiphany see Eur. *Bacch.* 1084 ff. (with Dodds's note), Heitsch, *Dichterfragmente* . . . , 59. 5 (a hymn to the Sun), Pfister, 319. The sea in particular is mentioned at *h.hom.* 33. 14-15 (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 22. 19-22), Aristoph. *Birds* 778 κύματ' ἑσβεσε νήνεμος αἰθρη, *Thesm.* 44 κύμα δὲ πόντου μὴ κελαδείτω, Theocr. *Id.* 2. 38 ἠνίδε συγῇ μὲν πόντος, συγῶντι δ' ἀῆται . . . For this motif in connection with Apollo cf. Limenius, *Paeon Delph.* ii. 9-10, describing the circumstances of Apollo's birth (that is, his first epiphany) λῆξε δὲ βαρυβρόμων Νη[ρέως ζαμενὲς οἶδμ' | ἦδὲ μέγας Ὠκεανός, ὃς περίξ [γὰν ὑγραῖς ἀγ]κάλας ἀμπέχει, Heitsch 51. 8-9 (another account of the birth) ἵστατο μὲν γὰρ, ἵστατο δ' ἀῆρ, | πάννυτο νᾶσος, πάννυτο κύμα, Mesomedes, *Hymn* 2 (to Helios = Apollo) 1-6 Εὐφαιμείτω πᾶς αἰθήρ, | γῇ καὶ πόντος καὶ πνοιαί, | οὐρεα, τέμπεα συγάτω, | ἦχοι φθόγγοι τ' ὀρνίθων | μέλλει γὰρ πορτ' ἡμᾶς βαίνειν | Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμας εὐχαίτας.

ὅτε κλείουσιν αἰδοί: cf. the line-ending of a 338 . . . τά τε κλείουσιν αἰδοί, which was imitated by A.R. 1. 18 . . . ἔτι κλείουσιν αἰδοί: von Jan, *De Callimacho Homeri Interprete*, 85 lists a number of parallel cases of such echoes.

ὅτε + present indicative is frequent in Call.; cf. *h.* 4. 84 Νύμφαι μὲν χαίρουσιν, ὅτε δρύας ὄμβρος ἀέξει, and see Pfeiffer's index for further instances. The construction is Homeric, e.g. μ 251-3, ν 129, ρ 461.

κλείουσιν: 'celebrate', as in Homer; in a different sense, 'call', at *h.* 1. 51. The same variety of use is found in A.R.: 'celebrate' at 1. 18, 'call' at 1. 217, 3. 277, etc.

19. ἦ κίθαριν ἦ τόξα: the cithara and the bow are of course Apollo's constant attributes. The first words he utters at *h.hom.* 3. 131 are

“εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα”; cf. *h. hom.* 4. 515. The two objects represent the beneficent and the punitive aspects of the god, as at Horace, *Odes*, 2. 10. 18–20: ‘... quondam cithara tacentem / suscitāt Musam, neque semper arcum / tendit Apollo.’ Cf. also the statue of Apollo by Angelion and Tektaios at Delos, the subject of *fr.* 114: the god was represented with the Charites (each holding a musical instrument) on his right hand, the bow in his left. See the exposition of Pfeiffer, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952), 20–32 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 55–71).

κίθαριν: for the lengthening of the final syllable see Maas, *Greek Metre*, 79. It is paralleled by Θέτις in the next line; cf. the correspondence of Λυκωρέος ἔντεα Φοῖβου and κυνύρεται αἰλίνα μήτηρ.

Λυκωρέος: Lycoreia denoted both the summit of Parnassus, where Deucalion found dry land (Paus. 10. 6. 2, Lucian, *Timon*, 3; *CIG* ii. 2374), and a village on the mountain, above Delphi (*fr.* 62, Paus., loc. cit., Strabo 10. 3. 3, scholia to A.R. 4. 1490): see Fontenrose, *Python*, 412 f. The etymology of the name was disputed, some deriving it from λύκων ὠρυγαί (Paus., loc. cit.; cf. Fontenrose, 421), others from an eponymous founder Lycorus, son of Apollo and the nymph Coryceia. Scholia to A.R. 2. 711 (Wendel, 183) regard the adjective as equivalent to ‘Delphian’: its use here makes it clear that the Ἀπόλλωνος ἀοιδή of 17 is the paean, a specifically Delphic element in the worship of Apollo (see 97 ff.), sung to commemorate his triumph over the dragon which was polluting his sanctuary.

The form of the adjective is varied at A.R. 4. 1490 νίωνος Φοῖβου Λυκωρείοιο Κάφαυρος, a possible case of *imitatio cum variatione* by Apollonius (though of course this hypothesis depends on the assumption, which is not at all implausible, that Book 4 of the *Argonautica* is later than this hymn). As Pasquali points out, (*Quaestiones Callimacheae*, 13) such adjectives formed from the names of cult-centres are more characteristic of the hymnic than of the epic narrative style. It is in any case most unlikely that the two passages are unrelated, as the use of Φοῖβος qualified by another adjective is most unusual. Cf. also Euphoriion, *fr.* 80. 3 Pow.* Λυκωρέος οἰκία Φοῖβου; *AP* 16. 279. 4 Λυκωρείην κισθάρην; *Orph. h.* 34. 1; Paulus Silentiarius, *AP* 6. 54. 1; Heitsch 51. 10 μάντι Λυκωρεῦ.

ἔντεα: in Homer usually used of fighting-gear, offensive weapons as well as armour, as *K* 75 proves (against the mistaken view of Aristarchus, for which see Lehrs, 144), but cf. also ἔντεα δαιτός *η* 232, ἔντεα νηός *h. hom.* 3. 489. Pindar’s use is much wider (see W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar*, s.v.) and includes two instances of ἔντεα = ‘musical instruments’: παμφώνοισι τ’ ἐν ἔντεσιν ἀλῶν *Ol.* 7. 12, and *Py.* 12. 21 (cf. [Call.] *fr.* 761. 2). Call. neatly conflates these usages to include both Apollo’s weapons and his musical instrument; cf. *h.* 3. 111: ἔντεα καὶ ζώνη.

20. Θέτις: for the lengthening of the second syllable cf. Θέτι (vocalic) at Σ 385 = 424 (where Zenodotus read Θέτις) and at Ω 88 (where Θέτις is also attested).

Thetis and Niobe are cited as paradigms of ceaseless grief. They are especially appropriate here because each of them mourned for children killed by Apollo’s archery: each of them has a dual nature—Thetis is at once πόντος (cf. 18) and mother of Achilles, while Niobe is human mother and Phrygian rock. Thus the passage eases the transition from the silence of nature to the proper respect of men for Apollo.

The mourning of Thetis for Achilles is a well-known episode: Homer relates it proleptically at Σ 35 ff., after the death of Patroclus, Achilles’ surrogate, and retrospectively at ω 47 ff.; cf. Quintus 3. 582 ff., Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 452 ff. (Arctinus, in the *Aethiopis*, altered the emphasis by adding a happy ending: ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει, Proclus, *Chrest.* 106 Allen: Call., typically, rejects the cyclic version.) It became a stock theme both in literature, e.g. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 9. 1, *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 433–40, Statius, *Silv.* 5. 33 (where Thetis is grouped with Aurora and Niobe), *GLP* 138. 70 ff., and in inscriptions, e.g. Kaibel, *EG* 191. 8 = Peek 1695 (Thera, ? imperial), Cougny, *AP* iii. 217. 23–4 (= Knox, *Fragm. chol. anon.* II, re-edited by É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969), no. 71).

That Apollo was responsible for Achilles’ death is first suggested at X 359–60; it is explicit in the *Aethiopis* (Proclus, *Chrest.* 106. 8–9 Allen), Aesch. *fr.* 350 Nauck, and Pindar, *Paeon* 6. 84. Cf. *AP* 9. 477, Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 56 ff., Horace, *Odes*, 4. 6. 3 ff., Ovid, *Met.* 12. 597–607.

For the equation of Thetis and the sea cf. Lycophron 22, Virgil, *Ecl.* 4. 32, etc. The same ambiguity is exploited at *AP* 7. 142, Horace, *Epodes*, 13. 12. For further instances of this typically Callimachean trait cf. the river-gods/rivers of *h.* 4. 75 ff., *h.* 3. 75 as interpreted by A. H. Griffiths, *BICS* 17 (1970), 33–5; see also K. J. McKay, *Erysihton*, 173 ff., H. Fränkel, *Ovid* . . . , 88–9.

Ἀχιλλῆα: numerous etymologies of Achilles’ name were proposed in antiquity: see Roscher, i. 64–6, *RE* i. 221. Call. seems elsewhere to have favoured the theory deriving it from ἄχος Ἰλίουσσι (cf. *fr.* 624 with Pfeiffer’s note); an interesting variant of this view is found in *Et. Mag.*: διὰ τὸ ἄχος ἐπενεγχεῖν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλίοσιν.

κυνύρεται: the verb is not Homeric, though Zenodotus read κυνύριζων at I 612, where the vulgate has καὶ ἀχεύων. There is, however, a reminiscence of P 415 ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄρ’ αὐτῷ βαλὴν ὥς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ | πρωτοτόκος κυνυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο. κυνυρός occurs nowhere else in Homer, and has no necessary connection with grief. Indeed, it appears to have been a technical term in cattle-breeding (cf. scholia to A.R. 1. 292, with comic etymology), and Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 241–3 regards the later usage (‘grieving’) as a misunderstanding. From the adjective the verb κυνύρεσθαι was formed by analogy with μυνυρός / μυνύρεσθαι. A.R. uses the verb five times, always of women, always in this *sedes*; cf. especially 4. 1063* . . . κυνύρεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα, in a passage describing sleepless grief; this and the present passage are the first instances of κυνύρεσθαι with an objective (as opposed to an internal or adverbial) accusative.

κινύρεται αἶλινα: note how the syllable *αι* occurs at the end of one word and the beginning of the next. Theoretical critics in antiquity frowned upon such repetition (see Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, 28–9, with references); but poets used it as a means of creating special effects. Here it suggests continual wailing (αἰαί); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 129–30 'guttur / urit', of Midas, unable to eat or drink.

αἶλινα: the first occurrence of the neuter plural form used adverbially; it is imitated by Moschus 3. 1, 14, Nonnus, *D.* 2. 82 etc. The adjective αἶλιος (e.g. Eur. *Helen*, 171) was formed from the interjection αἶλιον (for which see Fraenkel's note on Aesch. *Ag.* 121). The construction is modelled on such Homeric phrases as οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρομένη (δ 719; cf. κ 409, τ 543, ω 59).

μήτηρ: note the separation from Θέτις, and the emphatic placing at the verse-end (cf. ω 47, 55 where μήτηρ, again of Thetis, is emphatically placed at the beginning of the line).

21. ὀππόθ' with subjunctive is Homeric (e.g. *I* 646), expressing 'l'idée de répétition et d'éventualité' (Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 256). Contrast the use of the indicative at *h.* 4. 18; for such syntactical *variatio* cf. 10 above.

ἦ παιήον ἦ παιήον: for the form of the line cf. A.R. 2. 702: καλὸν Ἰηπαήον' Ἰηπαήονα Φοῖβον.

The paeon song is first mentioned at *A* 473, as part of the worship of Apollo, and is described more fully at *h.hom.* 3. 514 ff. Cf. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, 100–1 for its form and importance at Dorian festivals of Apollo. Call. gives one view of its origin at 97–104 below, where his preference for the aspirated form of ἦ is explained: cf. Pfeiffer on *fr.* 18. 6.

22. ὁ: emphatic, 'that weeping rock'; cf. *h.* 1. 11 ὁ χῶρος 'that place', μ 113 τὴν ὁλοήν... Χάρυβδιν.

δακρυόεις: this form occurs only once in Homer, at *X* 499*; cf. A.R. 4. 1277*.

ἀναβάλλεται: 'postpone', a rare Homeric use of the middle, as at *B* 436 ἀμβαλλόμεθα ἔργον; cf. *fr.* 75. 42, and the noun ἀνάβλησις at 46 below. Elsewhere in Homer the middle is used with the infinitive, in the sense of 'begin': ἀνεβάλλετ' αἰδεῖν α 155, θ 266. Note the assonance of alpha sounds in this line.

πέτρος: a surprise effect; after the mention of Thetis, a paradigm of maternal grief, the words ὁ δακρυόεις may lead the reader to expect a male counterpart (e.g. Peleus, or Priam), especially in view of the close parallelism in the structure of the two lines (both are entirely dactylic, have epic correlative of a third person middle verb before the bucolic caesura; αἶλινα and ἄλγεα correspond). Thus πέτρος is παρὰ προσδοκίαν, and the phrase becomes clear only with the next two lines, though Niobe is never actually named (cf. *h.* 4. 96). For the phrase cf. λίθος... | δακρυόεις of Niobe at Nonnus, *D.* 14. 272–3.

The story of Niobe's blasphemy, punishment, and grief at the slaughter by Apollo and Artemis of her children was related at Ω 603 ff.; lines 614–17, which described her subsequent metamor-

phosis into a rock on Mt. Sipylus, were athetized by Aristophanes and Aristarchus (see J. T. Kakridis, *RM* 79 (1930), 113–22). That they were already controversial at an earlier date is shown by Philetas, *Demeter*, *fr.* 2 Powell, where the phrases ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν (line 2) and κήδεα (line 4) echo θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσειν (Ω 617); cf. Kuchenmüller, *Philetas Cui Reliquiae*, 49. (Pfeiffer has, rightly in my view, postulated a close connection between this hymn and the *Demeter* of Philetas: see *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 284; cf. on 110 below.) Here, by his insistence on the metamorphosis, Callimachus is defending the vexed lines against criticism, both textual and philosophical; as early as the fourth century Palaephatus had produced a 'rationalist' account of the story. (Cf. Bornmann on *h.* 3. 167 for a similar defence-by-allusion of a controversial line of Homer.) Niobe's transformation was a favourite theme for tragedians, painters, sculptors, and thence for epigrammaticists: see Lesky, *RE* 17. 644 ff., R. M. Cook, *Niobe and her children* (Inaugural lecture, Cambridge, 1964), W. S. Barrett in R. J. H. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin, 1974), 171 ff.

For the motif of Niobe ceasing to weep on an occasion of joy cf. Propertius 3. 10. 8 'et Niobae lacrimas supprimat ipse lapis' (one of several epiphany features, and shortly after the 'silent sea' of line 6).

23. ὅστις: commentators have made heavy weather of this relative following a specific antecedent, but it is syntactically impeccable: see Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 643, Kühner-Gerth, ii. 401, J. E. Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, and Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum* s.v., Pfeiffer on *fr.* 85. 14, citing *h.* 4. 8, 229, 6. 46, etc. See also Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 241, on Ψ 43 οὐ μὰ Ζῆν', ὅς τις τε θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος: 'il semble... que ὅστις soit équivalent à ὅς.'

ἐνὶ Φρυγίῃ: for the lengthening of ἐνὶ cf. τὰ πρῶτα 58; contrast ποτὶ πρέμνον *h.* 4. 210. The location of the Niobe story varies: it is sometimes set in Thebes (cf. *h.* 4. 95 ff.), more usually in Lydia, which lends support to the view that two originally distinct myths have been conflated. (Attempts were of course made to gloss over this discrepancy: cf. scholia T to Ω 602.) Mt. Sipylus itself is usually regarded as being in Lydia (Paus. 1. 21. 3), but Sophocles calls Niobe τὰν Φρυγίαν ξέναν (*Ant.* 824), and Strabo several times (12. 8. 2; 14. 3. 3, etc.) complains of the tendency of poets to confuse Lydia and Phrygia, especially in connection with this legend. In any case, 'Phrygia' was a very elastic geographical term (see *RE* s.v.). Nonnus follows Call. in placing the Niobe rock in Phrygia (*D.* 12. 79–82; 14. 270; 15. 374–5; 48. 425, 442). There is possibly a further, verbal, point to the use of Φρυγίῃ here: Hesychius attests the existence of an adjective φρύγιος, meaning 'dry' (probably cognate with φρύγω 'roast, parch'), and Call. may well be playing on the ambiguity at *h.* 3. 159, where Φρυγίῃ occupies the same *sedes* as here, and refers to the site of Heracles' cremation. Here the point would be the piquant juxtaposition of the rare word φρύγιος, meaning 'dry', and the vexed word διερός, meaning (usually) 'wet'.

διερός occurs only twice in Homer: *διερός βροτός* ζ 201*, *διερώ ποδί* ι 43*; in both cases the meaning was disputed in antiquity. The later usage (= 'wet'), first attested at Hesiod, *Works* 460, and normal thereafter, is not appropriate, at least in the literal sense, in either passage. According to scholia PQV to ζ 201 Aristarchus interpreted it as ζών, and this explanation is found, along with others in the lexicographers (e.g. Hesychius, scholia K to Theoc. *Id.* 1. 55). Despite Lehrs's scorn (op. cit., 48 ff.) Aristarchus was not speculating, but transmitting an interpretation proposed by others, which was consistent with ancient physiological theories on the identity of life and liquidity (cf. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 254-6). Much earlier Ibycus used *διερός* in the sense of 'living', in a poem full of Homeric diction: *θνατός δ' οὐ κ[ε]ν ἀνὴρ | διερώ[ς] τὰ ἕκαστα εἴποι | ναῶν . . .* (fr. 282. 25-7 Page). Similarly Sophocles' phrase ζώντι . . . ποδί (fr. 790) seems to express the same notion as the Homeric *διερώ ποδί*. There are further possible survivals of the sense 'living' in later poets, e.g. the new fragment of Eratosthenes, *Hermes* (P.Oxy. 3000 col. ii. 1). Here *διερός λίθος*, in the same *sedes* as the Homeric *διερός βροτός*, combines the senses of 'wet' and 'living': both are perfectly appropriate to the dual nature of weeping rock and metamorphosed woman. Niobe herself was not killed as were her children; she was transformed into the famous rock while still living (see especially Palaephatus, *περὶ ἀπίστων* 8 (= *Mythographi Graeci*, iii. 2, ed. N. Festa, Leipzig, 1902) *φασιν ὡς Νιόβη γυνὴ ζῶσα λίθος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῷ τύμβῳ τῶν παίδων*: cf. *AP* 16. 129, etc.; at Nonnus, *D.* 14. 271-82 she is still able even after her metamorphosis to see, think, and speak). This interpretation is supported by the close imitation of this passage in Nonnus, *D.* 12. 79-81 *καὶ Νιόβη Σιπύλῳ παρὰ σφυρὰ πέτρος ἐχέφρων | δάκρυσι λαϊνέοισιν ὀδυρομένη στίχα παίδων | στήσεται οἰκτρὸν ἄγαλμα . . .* where *διερός λίθος* is re-expressed, according to the usual practice of *imitatio cum variatione*, as *πέτρος ἐχέφρων*. Thus Call. has placed his own interpretation of the Homeric gloss within a passage which is implicitly a comment on another Homeric crux, the authenticity of Ω 614-17. (Cf. A. Zinato, *Boll. Ist. Fil. Greca di Padova* 1 (1974), 173-9.)

ἐστήρικται: the verb *στηρίζω* is the *mot juste* for a god fixing an object permanently and immovably: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 498, 779*; Aratus 10, 230*, 274*, 351*, 500* (of the fixed stars, as opposed to the planets); *h.* 4. 13 (Delos, previously floating, *πόντῳ ἐνέστηρικται*); Nicander, *Ther.* 20* (Orion catasterized: see B. Effe, *Hermes* 102 (1974), 119 ff.); *Ev. Luc.* 16. 26 . . . *χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται*; for related uses cf. A.R. 4. 816* (hyperbolically, of Thetis' anger); oracle in Plutarch, *de Pyth.* 11 (= *Mor.* 399 c: Parke-Wormell, no. 357. 5); *orac. Chald. fr.* 58 des Places; *orac. Sib.* 3. 27 (= Lactantius, *div. inst.* 2. 11. 18), 7. 71, 11. 220; Nonnus, *D.* 48. 455.

24. *μάρμαρον*: neuter first here; masculine in Homer (*Π* 735*, cf. *M* 380*, 499), feminine at Theoc. *Id.* 22. 211*. For parallel variations in gender see Schneider's note here, and Pfeiffer on fr. 191. 86; cf. Headlam-Knox on Herodas 4. 21 (*ἡ λίθος*). Schneider also posited, as

an alternative explanation, a lacuna between lines 23 and 24, and the consequent loss of a verb governing *μάρμαρον* (accusative); Maas (*Zum Text . . .*) wished to delete the line. The transmitted text is, however, supported by the close imitation in Nonnus, *D.* 12. 79-82 (quoted on last line): *δάκρυβεις . . . πέτρος* corresponds to *δάκρυσι . . . ὀδυρομένη*, *ἐνὶ Φρυγίῃ* to *Σιπύλῳ παρὰ σφυρὰ*, *διερός λίθος* to *πέτρος ἐχέφρων*, *ἐστήρικται* to *στήσεται*, and *μάρμαρον* to *ἄγαλμα*, each being the third of a series of nouns in apposition.

οἷζυρόν τι: see note on *ἡδύ τι* (4); cf. *οἷζυροῖο γόοιο* at θ 540, a passage Call. may have had in mind here.

χανούσης: the word seems to have been topically used of Niobe in mourning, as in Lucian 43. 1 *θᾶπτον ἄν τις ὅλον τὸν Σίπυλον μετακινήσειεν ἢ σε τῶν καλῶν ἀπάγοι μὴ οὐχὶ παρεστάναι αὐτοῖς κεχηγνότα καὶ ἐπιδάκρυνόντά γε πολλάκις ὥσπερ ἐκείνην αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Ταντάλου*; in which case it should be regarded as intransitive ('gape' after her slaughtered children) with *οἷζυρόν τι* used adverbially, rather than as transitive ('utter': previous commentators and LSJ s.v. *χάσκω*, II, compare Soph. *Ajax*, 1227).

25-31. Turning to the choir, the speaker orders them to sing the paeon. 'May the man who fights against the gods fight against my king; may the man who fights against my king fight against Apollo. But Apollo will reward his choir for singing; and the choir will sing his praises for many a day, for he offers many themes for song.'

25. *ἡ ἡ*: scanned - - - - , as at 80, 97, 103; contrast 21 (*ἡ ἡ . . . ἡ ἡ*). Elsewhere there is considerable diversity in the quantities: cf. Isyllus, *Paeon* E 37 *ἡ Παιᾶνα*, A.R. 2. 712 *θαρούνεσκον ἐπέσσιν ἡ ἡ κεκληγνύται*. Aristonous, *Paeon* 4 *ἡ ἡ Παιάν*, Plutarch, *Titus* 16 *ἡ ἡ Παιάν, ὦ τίτε σῶτερ*. Heraclides Ponticus (quoted by Athenaeus 15. 701 e-f) attempted to formulate a rule, not very successfully: *μακρῶν μὲν τῶν πρώτων δύο συλλαβῶν λεγομένων "ἡ παιάν" ἡρῶν γίνεται, βραχέως δὲ λεχθεισῶν ἱαμβεῖον*. Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 229: 'bei chorischen Zurufen sind Schwankungen der Quantität und Vokalfarbe durchaus normal.'

φθέγγεσθε: *φθέγγεσθαι* introduces (or seems to introduce) direct speech only once in Homer, at Φ 213 . . . *προσέφη ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης | ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος, βαθέης δ' ἐκ φθέγγατο δίνης* | "*ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ*" . . . on which Call. seems to base his use: cf. *h.* 4. 87, 108, *fr.* 202. 53. (McLennan, op. cit., appendix ii, notes Callimachus' tendency to use formulae of 'saying' which occur only rarely in Homer.) *ἐπιφθέγγασθε* introduces a ritual cry at *h.* 6. 1, 118, and the *ἡ παιάν* cry is technically styled an *ἐπιφθέγμα* (Athenaeus 15. 696 f, 697; cf. *ἐπιφθεγγομένων* 701 b).

κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν: the sentiment is a commonplace; cf. *E* 407, *Z* 129 ff., 141, Φ 184 ff., δ 78, ε 212-13, Pindar, *Nem.* 10. 72, Theoc. *Id.* 22. 212, Pfister, 290, 320 ff. The reflection serves as a transition formula, applicable both to the mythological exemplum of Niobe and to the contemporary allusion in 26-7. (For a similar juxtaposition of Apollo's mythical foes and his historical enemies cf. Propertius

2. 31. 13–14, describing the ivory reliefs on the doors of Apollo's temple, 'altera delectos Parnasi vertice Gallos, / altera maerebat funera Tantalidos').

μακάρεσσιν: *μάκαρ* used as a noun is rare in Homer: e.g. κ 299... *μακάρων μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι*. Cf. *h.hom.* 5. 195, 8. 16, 22. 7; the usage is frequent in Hellenistic poetry, e.g. Call. *h.* 1. 72, 3. 65, etc.; A.R. 1. 481, etc.; Theoc. *Id.* 1. 126*; Isyllus, *Paeon* 13; Aristonous, *Paeon* 7. **ἐρίζειν** and its parts are often placed at the verse-end: cf. *N* 325, δ 78, ε 213, θ 371; *h.* 3. 7, 4. 112, *fr.* 260. 56; Theoc. *Id.* 4. 8, 4. 63, 5. 136, 7. 41. The verb is not found in A.R., who uses the slightly rarer Homeric word *ἐριδαίνειν* (1. 89, etc.), which Call. uses once, at *h.* 3. 262.

26. **μάχεται**: for an indicative verb in a relative clause of general application cf. ξ 156–7 *ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Αἰδαο πύλῃσι | γίγνεται, ὅς πενήν εἰκὼν ἀπατήλια βάζει*, cited by Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 206, § 534.

ἐμῷ βασιλῇ: much scholarly effort has been invested in attempts to unmask this unnamed king, and to wrest from these elusive lines firm historical facts. The scholiast (who may of course be guessing: cf. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 917 n. 293) identifies the 'king' with Ptolemy III Euergetes, adding *διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλόλογον αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὡς θεὸν τιμᾷ*. Many commentators (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dict.* ii. 80, 87) have felt, however, that these words could apply only to Ptolemy II Philadelphus; but cf. the conventional terms of eulogy in an epigram celebrating, in all probability, Ptolemy IV Philopator: *ὄλβιοι ὦ θνατῶν εὐεργέται, οἱ τὸν ἄριστον | ἐν δορί καὶ Μούσαις κοίραν ἡρόσατε* (Page, *GLP* 105 (b) 6–7). Pfeiffer represents a large body of opinion in cautiously accepting the scholiast's identification (*Callimachus* ii, pp. xxxviii–xxxix): 'Regem... in hymno II laudatum Ptolemaeum III esse Scholia (II 26) affirmant neque est cur id negemus; non male illae laudes in coniugem Berenices quadrant.' This is certainly a tenable position; but there is not sufficient evidence, within the poem or outside it, to justify dogmatic pronouncements on the date of the hymn or the circumstances of its composition and publication.

μάχεται μακάρεσσιν... μάχουτο: for other examples of such paronomasia cf. 69, 101–2, Lapp, 140–2.

μάχουτο: the use of the optative without any particle, to express a wish is of course frequent in Call.: cf. 113 below, *h.* 1. 64, 3. 136–7, 4. 98, *fr.* 1. 33–6, 57. 1, etc.

27. **δοσις** varies *δς* (26); cf. the first words of 1–2, 6–7, 18–19. For the careful balance between the two lines cf. that between 93–4 (Apollo's attitude to Cyrene) and 95–6 (the Battians' attitude to Apollo). A similar parallelism is expressed in *h.* 6. 70–1 *τόσσα Διώνυσον γὰρ ἄ καὶ Δάματρα χαλέπτει, | καὶ γὰρ τῇ Δάματρι συνωργίσθη Διώνυσος*. For close verbal correspondences between succeeding lines cf. *h.* 1. 87–8, 4. 84–5. Anaphora (often with polyptoton) of line-endings is frequent: cf. 18–19, 28 and 30–1, 43–4, 104, and 106 (interwoven with 105 and 107), *h.* 3. 154–5.

βασιλῇ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι: note that Call. here represents the king and the god as separate entities, who have interests in common. Numerous references to the parallelism between rulers and gods are conveniently listed in Nisbet–Hubbard, *Commentary on Horace Odes Book One*, 164–5.

28. **τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων** is balanced by *οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον* (30), and both lines have the same metrical pattern (dsddds), and end in the same verb: *ἀεῖδει... ἀείσει*. Cf. the similar correspondences between 105 and 107. The use of the definite article emphasizes the presence of Apollo: cf. Cahen, *Callimaque*, 459: '... c'est encore le dieu de Cyrène, ὠπόλλων, qui récompensera le chœur ici présent, τὸν χορὸν... enfin, par les mots *τίς ἂν οὐ ρέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι*; v. 31, c'est l'éloge le plus général du dieu qui est signifié.'

ὃ τι... ἀεῖδει: various changes have been proposed in order to soften the apparent arrogance of the poet's certainty of divine favour: *ὅτε... ἀείσῃ* Meineke, *ὅτε... ἀείδῃ* Schneider (followed by Kuiper), *ὃ τι... ἀείδῃ* Danielsson (*Eranos* 4 (1900–2), 78); but such scruples underestimate Callimachus' confidence in his own art, and the transmitted text gives a satisfactory sense: in 12–14 the poet expressed his concern that the choir should greet Apollo, or else they would lose his favour; he has made it clear that Apollo can punish with severity those who displease him (22–7); now, he says, Apollo will reward the choir, in so far as it is singing to his liking. Cf. the parallel section of four lines, 93–6, and see further Bundy, 72–4.

ὃ τι οἱ: the digamma of *οἱ* is almost invariably observed: cf. Maas, *Greek Metre*, 82, McLennan on *h.* 1. 31.

29. **τιμήσει**: for *τιμᾶν* used of gods honouring mortals cf. *A* 505, 559, Hes. *Theog.* 81 with West's note. Such honour is of course likely to be expressed in tangible form. The notion that the gods repay the honour done to them by the singer of a hymn is very frequent in the Homeric hymns; cf. 2. 494 *πρόφρονες ἄντ' ὥδῃς βίοτον θυμῆρε' ὀπάξουσιν*. Cf. Call. *h.* 1. 94–6, Theoc. *Id.* 22. 214–15, Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*, 34 ff.

Note the alliteration in this line, four words beginning with dental consonants.

δύναται γάρ...: for the parenthesis explaining the deity's ability to perform the act in question cf. δ 237 *Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε διδοῖ· δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα*, Hes. *Theog.* 420 (on Hecate) *καὶ τέ οἱ ὄλβον ὀπάξει, ἐπεὶ δυνάμεις γε πάρεστίν*, Aesch. *Supp.* 1035 (of Aphrodite) *δύναται γὰρ Διὸς ἄγχιστα συν Ἥρᾳ*, Call. *h.* 4. 226 (Hera is addressed) *ἀλλὰ φίλη, δύνασαι γὰρ, ἀμύνειο πότνια δούλους*, Paulus Silentarius, *H. Sophia* 224 (Rome, personified, prays to the emperor) *ἀλλὰ μάκαρ, δύνασαι γὰρ ἐφ' ἑλκεῖ φάρμακα πέσσειν, | χεῖρα τῇ προτίτανε...*: cf. Norden on Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 117, *Agnostos Theos*, 154.

Διὶ δεξιός: the right hand of the *pater familias* was the place of honour: Pindar, *Py.* 6. 19–20, and as such was occupied normally by the favourite son, as at η 171, etc., and also in the Hebrew and Christian usage (e.g. *Ps.* 110. 1, *Ev. Marc.* 14. 62, 16. 19). Apollo is *Διὶ φίλος* (*A* 86 etc.), and therefore has precedence in the banqueting-halls of

Olympus: *h.hom.* 4. 468 *πρῶτος γὰρ, Διὸς υἱέ, μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θαάσεις*. Zeus is the source of the lesser gods' powers (*h.* 1. 73 ff.): cf. Hesiod's explanation of Hecate's wide powers, *Theog.* 428 . . . *ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς τίεται αὐτήν*. However, the scholarly industry satirized by Kuiper (*Stud. Call.* ii. 139 ff.) still flourishes, and it is as true now as it was in 1898 that 'constanter pergunt viri docti per totos hymnos griphorum more pro deorum nominibus Ptolemaeos Berenicas substituere'. Such scholars see this line as an indication that the hymn was written at a period when two Ptolemies, father and son, were co-regents, but they disagree on whether the earthly counterparts of Zeus and Apollo are Soter and Philadelphus, or Philadelphus and Euergetes: cf. Smotrytsch, *Helikon* 1 (1961), 661-7, McKay, *The Poet at Play* (1962), 17 ff.

30. τὸν Φοῖβον . . . | Φοῖβον: cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 10. 2-3 'pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris, / carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?'

ἐφ' ἐν μόνον ἡμῶν . . . : two related ideas are present here: first, that the supposed festival will last several days (the Spartan Carneia, for example, lasted for nine days; in 78 ff. Call. even claims that at Cyrene an unending festival of Apollo is celebrated); for the litotes see Lapp, 34. Secondly, Call. also suggests the word-play on αἰεῖ and αἰεῖδεν, which is extremely frequent, especially in hymnic contexts: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 34, *h.hom.* 21. 4, Theognis 1. 3-4, Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus*, 6, Call. *h.* 1. 1-2, 3. 137, *ep.* 22. 4, *fr.* 494.

αἰεῖσι: the active form of the future is not found in the main Homeric corpus, but occurs at 'Homer', *epigram* 14. 1, Theognis 1. 4, Eur. *Heracles* 681 (manuscripts), Theoc. *Id.* 22. 26, Cleanthes, *H. to Zeus*, 6, Oppian, *Cyn.* 1. 80; elsewhere in Call. at *h.* 1. 4, 93, 3. 186, 4. 1.

31. εὐμῶνος: an echo of *h.hom.* 3. 19 = 207 (also of Apollo) πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὐνυμον ἔδοντα; Call. also applies the adjective to the Cyclades (*h.* 4. 4), and, in the superlative, to Phoebus and Zeus (*fr.* 229. 1); in these instances ('worthy to be hymned') it is equivalent to πολύνυμος (*h.hom.* 26. 7, etc.); it has a different sense at *GLP* 106. 3 εὐνυμα κυλίων | ῥήματα ('rolling forth your lines of lovely song', Page). (Callimachus' fondness for compound adjectives formed from εὐ- + a noun can be gauged from the list in Schmitt, 133.)

For the motif that Apollo provides inexhaustible material for poetry cf. the passages of the Homeric hymn introduced by the line just quoted, Theognis 1. 1-4. It is a feature of the hymnic style to stress the richness of material available: cf. Eur. *Heracles*, 691-5, Theoc. *Id.* 17. 9-12, *Poimandres*, 5 *fin.* (quoted by Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 181); see Bundy, 59 ff.

τίς ἂν οὐ ρέα . . . αἰεῖδοι: contrast *h.* 1. 92-3 . . . *τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τίς κεν αἰεῖδοι; | οὐ γένετ', οὐκ ἔσται τίς κεν Διὸς ἔργματ' αἰεῖσι*; and note the line-endings (cf. 29-30).

ῥέα: Call. uses both this form (again at *h.* 3. 250) and ῥεῖα (line 50 below, 3. 140, 4. 126), according to metrical convenience. Call. is ringing a change on the Homeric hymn: there the poet suggested that

the abundance of themes made it difficult for him to sing a hymn; here Call. asserts that the reverse is true. Cf. Bundy, 59 n. 59: 'A wealth of subject matter may equally well be treated as an embarrassment or as a source of ease in composition as circumstance and truth require.'

32-96. The hymn proper, which begins (32-41) with the praise of Apollo's appearance, and of the blessings he brings to any city he visits.

32. χρύσεια: when a number of nouns of different genders have a common predicate, the neuter plural adjective may occur if the nouns denote *things*: cf. *v* 435.

The motif of the deity being clothed in gold, and equipped with golden accoutrements is frequent in epic, the underlying concept being that 'gold is the stuff of radiance . . . and imperishableness' (Verdenius, *Mnem.* 25 (1972), 229). The ultimate model is Θ 41-4 (epiphany of Zeus) = N 22-5 (epiphany of Poseidon) . . . *ὅπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἔππῳ, | ὠκυπέτα, χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομώντε, | χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροῖ, γέντο δ' ἰμάσθλην | χρυσεῖην εὐτυκτον* . . . Adjectives formed from χρυσ- are very frequently applied to Apollo: see Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, 35 f.; and the motif is of course particularly apt if Apollo is identified with the sun (cf. 9, 51, 93). Call. uses the motif in two other passages describing epiphanies of a kind: at *h.* 3. 110-12 (Artemis' début as a serious huntress) Ἀρτεμι Παρθενίη Τιτυοκτόνε, χρύσεια μὲν τοι | ἔντεα καὶ ζώνη, χρύσειον δ' ἐξεύξαιο δίφρον, | ἐν δ' ἐβάλεν χρύσεια, θεά, κεμάδεσσι χαλινά, and at *h.* 4. 260-4 (the effects of Apollo's birth) χρυσεὰ τοι τότε πάντα θεμελῖα γείνετο, Δῆλε, | χρυσῷ δὲ τροχόεσσα πανήμερος ἔρρεε λίμνη, | χρύσειον δ' ἐκόμησε γενέθλιον ἔρνος ἐλαίης, | χρυσῷ δὲ πλήμυρε βαθὺς Ἴωνος ἐλιχθεῖς. | αὐτῇ δὲ χρυσέοιο ἀπ' οὐδὲος εἴλεο παῖδα . . . For the anaphora χρύσεια / χρύσεια / πολύχρυσος, in which the third term has a different form from the first and second, cf. 62-3: κεράεσσιν / κεράων / κεραούς (adjective); 69-70: πολλοί / πολλοί / πουλύ. At 73-5 it is the second term which is varied: Θήρη / Θηραῖην / Θήρης.

τό . . . : for the frequency of the definite article in these lines see on 7 above; it would seem that the poet is purporting to describe what is before his eyes (whether as the god himself, as the parallel passages relating 'golden' epiphanies would suggest, or in the form of a statue).

ἐνδυτόν: previously attested in tragedy, e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 111, but possibly, as Kuiper suggested, an allusion to ἔδυνε at Θ 43 cited above; the verb ἐνδύνειν occurs five times in Homer (*B* 42 etc.; *Iliad* only), always with the object χιτῶνα.

ἐπιπορπίς is attested only here (though Jacobs proposed to read it at Perses, *AP* 6. 274. 1 = Gow-Page, *HE* 2867). It is interpreted by the scholia here as περόνη, πόρπη (cf. Σ 401): it would then denote the clasp which fastened the Doric χιτῶν over the left shoulder: cf. the illustration in Furtwängler, 463. It has also been taken as a cloak, fastened by such a clasp, worn over the χιτῶν: cf. Bekker, *Anecdota*, 254 ἐπιπόρπημα· κόσμημα ἢ λίθινον ἢ χρυσοῦν ἢ ἀργυροῦν ἢ ἱμάτιον

διπλοῦν πόρπη δε ἔστω ἡ ἄνω τῆς χλαμύδος πρόσδεσις. Cf. also the word περονατρίς (Theoc. *Id.* 15. 21; see Gow's detailed note), which seems to denote a cloak fastened by a brooch. However, the form ἐπιπόρπημα is clearly passive, 'that which is fastened with a clasp'; whereas on the analogy of ἐφεδρίς = ἔδρη at Call. *fr.* 196. 37 (see Schmitt, 25 n. 33), it seems reasonable here to regard ἐπιπορπίς simply as a heightened synonym for πόρπη, particularly as it occurs in a context of choice diction (ἐνδυτόν, ἄεμμα). Cf. κατοχεύς (6), ἀπόκτισις (75), where the prefixes seem somewhat pleonastic.

From the confused readings of manuscripts A, B, C, and K, M. T. Smiley (*CQ* 14 (1920), 14) reconstructed a variant ἡ τε νυ πορπίς, and took πορπίς as a variation on πόρπη. However, the verb ἐπιπορπεῖσθαι is well attested (Polybius 39. 1. 2, Diodorus 5. 30, Strabo 7. 294, *Et. Magn.* s.v. δωριάζειν), and ἐπιπορπίς is best left.

33. λύρη: the noun occurs only once in Homer, at *h.hom.* 4. 423. Apollo's φόρμιγξ is golden at [Hes.] *Shield* 203, Pindar, *Py.* 1. 1, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 327; he himself is χρυσοφόρμιγξ at Simonides *fr.* 511 (a) 5 Page, and χρυσολύρας at Aristoph. *Thesm.* 315, Posidippus, 'Seal' (see text and commentary by H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 83 (1963), 81), *Orph.h.* 34. 3. Cf. Alcaeus 307 P.

ἄεμμα: 'bow'. Hesychius offers two meanings, τόξον and ἱμάτιον, but the phrase εὐκαμπὲς ἄεμμα (*h.* 3. 10) is clearly a variation of the Homeric κάμπυλα τόξα (see Bornmann ad loc.). According to the Oxyrhynchus scholia (Pfeiffer, ii. 47) the word occurred in Philetas' *Demeter*, where γυμνὸν ἄεμμα varied the Homeric γυμνὸν τόξον (*l.* 607): for further possible allusions in this hymn to the *Demeter* see on 22 and 110. The root may recur in the name of the Cretan archer Ἐχέμματος *ep.* 62. 1 (? = ὅς ἐχει ἄεμμα; cf. Bornmann on *h.* 3. 81); if so, this would lend support to Kuiper's suggestion (*Stud. Call.* i. 51) that the word is of Cretan origin, like the object it denotes; but cf. the cautious observations of Schmitt, 19 n. 5, 102 n. 15.

Apollo is regularly ἀργυρότοξος in Homer (*A* 37 etc.), χρυσότοξος at Pindar, *Ol.* 14. 10, Isyllus, *Paeon* E 48; his bow is golden at A.R. 4. 1709, but silver at 2. 688. Note the juxtaposition here of lyre and bow, a leitmotif of the hymn: cf. 19, 43-4, and the fact that the Pythoktonia episode (97-104), an exploit of Apollo the archer, is immediately followed by the dialogue with Phthonos (105 ff.) in which Apollo is the god of poetry.

Λύκτιον: cf. *ep.* 37. 1 ὁ Λύκτιος Μενίτας (an archer); Leonidas Alexandrinus, *AP* 6. 326. 1 Λύκτιον ἰοδόκη; Paulus Silentiarius, *AP* 6. 75. 7 τὸ Λύκτιον ὄπλον. Lyctos, or Lyttos, a village in northern Crete, mentioned twice in Homer (*B* 647, *P* 611) was well known for its archers (see Paus. 4. 19. 4), and archery was always felt to be a Cretan speciality: see Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, 81, 126, and the passages collected by Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 1. 15. 17. At *h.* 3. 81 Artemis asks for a Κυδωνίων τόξον like Apollo's; cf. Diodorus Sic. 5. 74. 5. For the links between Apollo and Crete see *CQ* 21 (1971), 139.

φαρέτρη: line-ending at ζ 270, φ 11; other cases of the noun also tend to gravitate to the end of the line, in Homer (*A* 45, *K* 260, etc.), Call. (*h.* 3. 8, 212, 247), and A.R. (1. 1194, the only occurrence in A.R., whose gods, Apollo included, carry their arrows in an ἰοδόκη: 2. 679, 3. 156, 279).

34. πέδιλα: note again the interest in Apollo's feet; cf. 3, 107. Elsewhere golden sandals are worn by Hermes (*Ω* 340-1, ε 44-5), Hera (*λ* 604, Hes. *Theog.* 12, 454, 952), Athene (*α* 96), and Dawn (Sappho, *fr.* 123 Page).

πολύχρυσος: seven times in Homer, always in this *sedes*, of mortals (*K* 315), cities (*H* 180, *Λ* 46, *Σ* 289, γ 304), and of Aphrodite (*h.hom.* 5. 1, 9). Cf. also Pindar, *Py.* 4. 53-4... πολυχρύσῳ ποτ' ἐν δώματι | Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει... referring to Delphi (the ode was written for Arce-silas of Cyrene, and these lines introduce the prediction of the foundation of the city); Soph. *OT* 152-3... τὰς πολυχρύσου | Πυθῶνος, Eur. *IT* 1275 πολυχρύσα... λατρεύματα, again with reference to Delphi.

35. πολυκτέανος: the form in πολυ- was restored by Pfeiffer from P.Oxy. 2258; it is a Callimachean mannerism to juxtapose πολυ- and πολυ- compounds, e.g. *h.* 6. 2 (= 119)... πολυτρόφε πολυμέδιμνε, *h.* 3. 225... πολυμέλαθρε πολύπτολι, and cf. 70 below: πολλοί... πολυ-. On πολυ- forms in Homer see van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium* 93, 193. The form πολυκτέανος (qualifying πατρίς) occurs at Pindar, *Ol.* 10. 36, and though not attested in Homer, it is in the epic style, conflating φιλοκτέανος (*A* 122) and πολυκτῆμων (*E* 613), both predicated of mortals; cf. ἐκεκτέανος (Rhianus, *fr.* 1. 7 Powell), on which see Giangrande, *Ant. Class.* 39 (1970), 76.

Πυθῶνι: the treasures of Delphi were fabulous even to Homer (*I* 404-5, cf. *h.hom.* 3. 536-7, 4. 178-81) and continued to attract comment, whether approving, as in Bacch. 3. 17 ff., or critical, as in Euripides (e.g. *Andr.* 1093, *IT* 1275).

τεκμήριο: post-Homeric both in sense ('form a judgement') and construction (with dative for the evidence on which the judgement is based): cf. *h.* 1. 85*. For the Homeric usage ('ordain') see Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, i. 119 ff.

36. καὶ μέν: the papyrus has confirmed Belin de Ballu's conjecture (proposed in his note on Oppian, *Cyn.* 1. 85, in his Strasburg edition of 1786): the archetype had καὶ κεν. The particles are used in a progressive sense (see Denniston, 390), as in 22 above, and *h.* 3. 38.

αἰεῖ... αἰεῖ: cf. *h.* 1. 2 αἰεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἀνακτα; for the sequence αἰεῖ... αἰεῖ... οὐποτε, cf. 83-4... αἰεὶ δέ τοι ἀέναον πῦρ, | οὐδέ ποτε... The sequence is reversed at *h.* 4. 302-3 οὔτε σιωπηλὴν οὔτ' ἄσφοδον οὐλος ἐθείρας | Ἑσπερος, ἀλλ' αἰεῖ...

καλός: for the motif of Apollo's beauty see Hes. *Theog.* 919, *h.hom.* 3. 449-50 ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε | πρωθήβη, χαίτης εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους, A.R. 2. 674 ff., Tibullus 2. 5. 7-10, Lygdamus 4. 23-38, Christodorus, *AP* 2. 72-7, 266-70, 283-7; Furtwängler, 442 ff. ('Apollon als Ideal der männlichen Jugend'), Wernicke, 84 ff.

('Kunstdarstellungen'). Here Call. is representing Apollo as a beautiful adolescent, in contrast with the Homeric hymn; for the Greek admiration of this type of male beauty see Headlam on Herodas 1. 52.

ἀεί νέος: cf. A.R. 1. 760-1 (ecphrasis of Jason's cloak) ἐν καὶ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος οὔτευν ἐτέτυκτο | βούπαις, οὐπω πολλός (note the etymological *jeu*), 2. 707-10 κοῦρος ἔων ἔτι γυμνός, ἔτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς | (ἰλήκοις — αἰεὶ τοι, ἀναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι | αἰὲν ἀδῆλῃτοι, τὼς γὰρ θέμις, οἴοθι δ' αὐτῇ | Λητῶ Κοιογένεια φίλαις ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἀφάσσει); Cornutus, *Comp. Theol. Gr.* 66. 15 Λαγ βούπαιδος δ' ἡλικίαν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχει, καθ' ἣν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι εὐειδέστατοι ἑαυτῶν φαίνονται· κάλλιστος γὰρ ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαρώτατος ἔστιν ὁ ἥλιος, Lucian 30. 11 ἀναπλάττουσι . . . παῖδα . . . ἐς αἰὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα.

37. *θηλείαις*: the form in *-ais*, unelided, is attested in the papyrus and the lemma of the Oxyrhynchus scholia; see on 86 below for the vexed question of first declension dative plural forms in Call.

In Homer *θηλὺς* is almost always used literally: the exceptions are ε 467 *θηλὺς ἔεργη* and the ancient variant at Φ 454 *νήσων ἐπὶ θηλυτεράων*, where ancient grammarians explained it as 'fertile', 'causing fertility' (see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 548). A similar use to this is found at Theoc. *Id.* 16. 49 . . . *θηλὺν ἀπὸ χροῖας Κύκνον* in a context which suggests reminiscence of an epic model, possibly Cyclic. It is unusual for any adjective to be used to qualify *παρειαί*, and then the most common is *ἀπαλαί* (e.g. Σ 123, A.R. 3. 297), by which the Ψ scholia gloss *θηλείαις* here.

It is often suggested that there is a close connection between this line and A.R. 3. 518-20 *σὺν δὲ καὶ Οἰνεῖδης, ἐναρίθμιος αἰζηοῖσιν | ἀνδράσιν οὐδὲ περ ὅσσον ἐπανθιόωντας ἰούλους | ἀντέλλων . . .* and this is highly likely, but it is far from certain that the relationship between them is that of 'tacit criticism of Callimachus' by Apollonius (see Gillies ad loc.).

οὐδ' ὅσσον: 'not at all', a usage frequent in Hellenistic poetry, but not certainly attested earlier: cf. *ep.* 46. 9, Philetas *fr.* 7 Pow., Asclepiades, *AP* 12. 153. 2, A.R. 1. 290, 482, 2. 181, 190, 3. 519 (quoted above), Herodas 7. 33 with Headlam's valuable note; cf. οὐδ' οἶον in Alexis, *fr.* 18, with Kock's note.

ἐπὶ . . . ἦλθε: cf. the use of *ἐπέρχεσθαι* + dative for the onset of disease (λ 200), sleep (ε 472, μ 311), old age (Theognis 1. 528, 728).

χνόος: once only in Homer at ζ 226, where it denotes the scurf left on the skin after prolonged immersion in salt water; Call. keeps the Homeric form, but with the meaning of the Attic *χροὺς*, 'down' (e.g. Aristoph. *Clouds* 978); cf. the verb *χροᾶν* at A.R. 2. 43, 779. Callimachus' insistence on Apollo's beardlessness accords with the usual forms of artistic representation; but in the earlier period the god was sometimes depicted as bearded (see Wernicke, 86, and cf. the parallel change in depictions of Dionysus, for which see Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 453-9), and it is reasonable to suppose that the same conception was found in early literary works now lost.

παρειαίς: for the termination *-ais* at the verse-end cf. *h.* 3. 38,

4. 302, and see further on 86 below. Trisyllabic forms of *παρειαί* tend to be placed at the end of the line: cf. *h.* 4. 80, *fr.* 80. 10; the same is true in A.R. and Homer.

38. *κόμαι*: this nominative plural is a rarity in Homer (*P* 51, *h.hom.* 2. 279: in neither case with the article). After mentioning Apollo's eternal youth, it is natural to allude to his hair; one of his titles is *ἀκερσεκόμης*, and descriptions of his flowing locks are frequent in poetry: see the references collected by Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 1. 21. 2, and add Colluthus 25-6 (as transposed by Graefe), Lygdamus 4. 27-8 'intonsi crines longa cervice fluebant, / stillabat Syrio myrtea rore coma'. The custom of anointing the head with oil is frequently alluded to in Homer, e.g. *T* 126 *κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο* (cf. ο 332). For the image cf. η 107 *καιροσέων δ' ὀδονέων ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον*, *h.hom.* 24 (to Hestia, handmaiden of Apollo) 3 *αἰεὶ σὼν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον* (see Allen-Halliday-Sikes ad loc.). Statues of the gods were sometimes anointed: see *fr.* 7. 12, with Pfeiffer's note. Cf. also *Ps.* 132 (LXX). 2-3 *ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα, τὸν πώγωνα τὸν Ἀρῶν, τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ᾧαν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ· ὡς δρόσος Ἀερμῶν ἢ καταβαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Σιών· ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ ζωὴν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος*.
θυόεντα: the adjective is a rarity in Homer: *O* 153 (of the cloud in which Zeus is wrapped), *h.hom.* 2. 97, 318 (of Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis).

πέδω: once only in Homer, at *h.hom.* 2. 455*, where it means 'on the ground', not 'to the ground' (for which Homer uses *πέδονδε*, *N* 796, λ 598). The latter usage is previously attested in tragedy, e.g. Soph. *El.* 747. By contrast, Moschus, *Eur.* 66 uses *ἐραζε* in the sense 'on the ground'.

λείβουσιν ἔλαια varies the Homeric clausula *ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον* quoted above: the simple verb is used for the compound, the active for the passive, and the plural *ἔλαια* for the singular.

ἔλαια: 'drops of unction', a novel usage; other occurrences of the plural *ἔλαια* are not comparable (e.g. Theophrastus, *fr. de odoribus*, 20 *αἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐλαίων φύσεις καὶ δυνάμεις* refers to 'types of oil'). Further, as the following lines stress, this is no ordinary oil; but the use of *ἔλαιον* in such a case has Homeric precedent: cf. Athenaeus 15. 688 c δὲ δὲ *Ὁμηρος τὴν μὲν χρῆσιν οἶδε τῶν μύρων, ἔλαια δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ἐπιθέτον· "ρόδοντι δ' ἔχριεν ἔλαιω"* (Ψ 186).

39. οὐ λίπος . . . : for other examples of such *correctio* in Call. see Lapp, 97. Note the extent of the *variatio* of 38: *ἔλαια* (plural) is varied by *λίπος* (singular), *λείβουσιν* (simple) by *ἀποστάζουσιν* (compound), *αἱ κόμαι* by *ἔθειραι*; moreover, the corresponding nouns are chiastically arranged.

λίπος is used for 'grease' of various kinds, whether animal fat, blood, or, as here, oil: cf. Soph. *fr.* 398 *λίπος ἐλαίας*, Lycophron 579 *ἀλοιφαῖον λίπος*. In the frequent Homeric phrase *λίπ' ἐλαίω*, *λίπ'* is presumably an adverb; see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 250. Callimachus' use of the unqualified *λίπος* to denote oil may be influenced by the

unique absolute use of *λίπ'* at ζ 227... πάντα λοέσσατο καὶ λίπ' ἄλευθεν, though it is of course eased by the proximity of *ἐλαια*.

ἀποστάζουσιν: the simple verb *στάζειν* occurs three times in Homer (*T* 39, 348, 354); in using the compound for the simple here, Call. reverses the process of 38, where the simple verb *λείβουσιν* corresponds to the Homeric compound *ἀπολείβεται*. For similar uses of *ἀποστάζειν* see *h.* 3. 118*, *fr.* 260. 46, Theoc. *Id.* 15. 108; A.R., by contrast, does not use this compound, but has both *στάζειν* (2. 1213) and *καταστάζειν* (3. 851).

ἔθειραι: the verse-end is the regular *sedes* of this word; in Homer it normally denotes horsehair, whether still *in situ* or used as decoration for helmets, but human hair at *h.hom.* 5. 228*, and divine hair (Dionysus) at *h.hom.* 7. 4*; again of Apollo at A.R. 2. 708*:... αἰεὶ τοι, ἀναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι.

40. *Πανάκειαν*: Panacea, as a minor deity concerned with medicine, is often represented as the daughter of Asclepius: see Hippocrates, *Oath*, Aristoph., *Plutus* 702, *Paeon Erythraeus* 13, Macedonius, *Paeon* 20, Andromachus (= Heitsch 62) 173, Headlam on Herodas 4. 5. Call. here subordinates her to Apollo—even the drops from his hair constitute a theophany (*αὐτήν* is emphatic). *πανάκεια* is also the name given to various plants with medicinal properties: see Nicander, *Ther.* 565, 685, Dioscorides 3. 48, Lucan 9. 918, *carmen de viribus plantarum* (= Heitsch 64), 120, 147: Call. is clearly suggesting the identity of goddess and plant, and attributing the existence of both to the presence of Apollo. For the word-play of *πανάκειαν*... ἀκήρια πάντα *cf. ep.* 46. 4 ἡ πανακὲς πάντων φάρμακον ἂ σοφία.

ἄσπεϊ: this case occurs only once in Homer, at θ 525.

ἐκείναι: note the assonance with *ἔθειραι*, the ending of the previous line; other examples are listed by Lapp, 143.

41. *πρώκας* occurs in literature only here and at Theoc. *Id.* 4. 16 *μη̄ πρώκας σιτίσθεται ὥσπερ ὁ τέττιξ*; where the sense is 'dewdrops' (*cf. πρώκιον*, convincingly restored at *fr.* 1. 34). According to Gregorius Corinthius, *de dial. dor.* 93 (Schaefer, p. 274) it is a Doric word.

πρώκας ἔραζε: it is unusual for a word beginning in the first dactyl to end with the second trochee (Maas, *Greek Metre*, 63, § 94; *cf. McLennan, Quad. Urb.* 17 (1974), 64); for other instances, *cf. fr.* 24. 1 *σκῶλος ἐπεὶ μὴν*..., and see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 230. Wilamowitz's suspicions (*Hell. Dicht.* ii. 83 n. 2) were over-scrupulous. Another unusual feature is that *ἔραζε* occurs here in mid-verse, as also at [Theoc.] *Id.* 25. 265, though its normal *sedes* is the verse-end (Bühler, *Europa*, 111 misses these exceptions).

ἀκήρια: in Homer *ἀκήριος* has two distinct meanings: (i) in the *Iliad*, 'lifeless', 'spiritless' (*E* 812, *H* 100, etc.); (ii) in the *Odyssey* and *Hymns*, 'safe', 'unharmful' (*μ* 98, *ψ* 328, *h.hom.* 4. 530, *cf. Hes. Works* 823). The latter is clearly the meaning here, though the scholia attempt to recognize both Homeric uses. Characteristically, A.R. employs the word in both its senses: (i) at 2. 197, (ii) at 3. 466; *cf. scholia ad loc.*

πάντ' ἐγένοντο: neuter plural subjects frequently govern a plural verb in Homer, especially when, as here, the verb is a metrically convenient form for the verse-end: see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 17-18. *Cf. h.* 3. 182... τὰ δὲ φάεα μηκύνονται, *h.* 4. 142 σείονται μυχὰ πάντα... , Aratus 13, 377, etc.

ἐγένοντο: the aorist is gnomic; for the sequence of moods see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*..., 205, § 533.

42-6. After describing Apollo's outward appearance, the poet now lists his four main skills, music, archery, prophecy, and medicine, before turning to two of his less well-known activities, as a pastoral god (47-54), and as the builder of cities (55 ff.).

In an ode written in honour of Arcesilas of Cyrene, Pindar similarly stresses Apollo's versatility before concentrating on the part he played in the foundation of the city: *ὁ καὶ βαρεῖαν νόσων | ἀκέσματ' ἀνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει | πόρεν τε κίθαριν, δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, | ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγὼν | ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν, | μυχόν τ' ἀμφέπει | μαντήιον* (*Py.* 5. 63-9). The full Apolline *quadrivium* appears in Plato, *Crat.* 405 a τέτταρσι δυνάμεσι τοῦ θεοῦ... μουσικὴν τε καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν, where a distinct etymology of *Ἀπόλλων* is proposed for each of the four arts; this list became canonical. *Cf. Virgil, Aen.* 12. 392 ff.: 'Iasides, acri quondam cui captus amore / ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo / augurium citharamque dabat, celerisque sagittas. / ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis, / scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi / maluit...' The catalogue recurs at Horace, *carm. saec.* 61 ff., Diodorus Siculus 5. 74. 5, Lucian, *dial. deorum* 18/16 (Hera and Leto) 244, Menander Rhetor 325 Sp., scholia to Δ 101.

42. *ἀμφιλαφής*: the basic notion of this adjective is of extensiveness, and as such it can be applied to physical objects, whether fixed (*νήσος* A.R. 4. 983, *παστὰς* Theoc. *Id.* 24. 46, *φοίνικες* Hdt. 4. 172) or mobile (*ἐλέφαντες* Hdt. 3. 114), or to more transient phenomena (*γῶος* Aesch. *Ch.* 331, *δύναμις* Pindar, *Ol.* 9. 82, *ἐμπρησμός* Longinus 12. 4, *ἔρις* Nonnus, *Par.* 7. 167); hence, 'wide-ranging' of *χορός*, *h.* 3. 3*, as is made clear by the following phrase *καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐψιάσθαι*. Here in its metaphorical application ('wide-ranging' again) the connection with the literal sense is clear. The dative *τέχνῃ* expresses the sphere of application of the adjective; *cf. (ἄλσος) δένδρεσιν ἀμφιλαφὲς h.* 6. 26*, (*ὄφης*) *ἀμφιλαφὲς φολίδεσσι* Nonnus, *D.* 5. 153. Call. always uses the word in this *sedes*.

τόσον ὅσον: *cf. P* 410* etc.; for the form, contrast *h.* 1. 64 *τόσον ὅσον*. There is a reminiscence of the whole line at Dionysius Periegetes 460 *ἢλη δ' ἀμφιλαφὲς οὔτις τόσον ὅσον ἐκείνη*.

43. *κείνος... κείνος... κείνου* (45): for the anaphora *cf. note* on 32 above.

δοῖστευτήν occurs only here, and is almost certainly a Callimachean creation; it is formed from the Homeric verb *δοῖστεύειν* (*Δ* 196, etc.) by analogy with *τοξευτής* (once only in Homer at *Ψ* 850, which is echoed by Call. at *fr.* 70. 2) from *τοξεύειν* (*Ψ* 855; not found elsewhere in

Homer). For a fuller discussion see Schmitt, 162. In its turn *διστευ-της* was the model for *διστευτήρ* which appears first in Antipater (? Sidonius) *AP* 6. 118. 3, followed by Nonnus, *D.* 7. 271: for the equivalence in epic of forms in *-της* and *-τηρ* see further on line 67 below.

For Apollo as god of archery see *A* 45 ff., *h.hom.* 3. 126, Wernicke, 17, Furtwängler, 435 f. ('Apollon als Gott des Kriegeres').

ἐλαχ': the most notable example of the use of *λαγχάνειν* 'to become the tutelary deity' of a place or area of life occurs in Poseidon's words at *O* 190-2, referring to the original partition by lot between the sons of Cronos, ἦτοι ἐγὼν ἐλαχον πολὺν ἄλα ναίμεναι αἰεὶ | παλλομένων, Αἰδης δ' ἐλαχε ζόφον ἡερόεντα, | Ζεὺς δ' ἐλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι (a passage criticized by Call. at *h.* 1. 60 ff., and seemingly defended by the writer of the *Hymn to Demeter*, *GLP* 91); it is frequently used without any implication of a literal lot: cf. *Ψ* 79, *h.hom.* 4. 428, 430 (with Allen-Halliday-Sikes's note), 19. 6, Call. *h.* 4. 74, *fr.* 519, *A.R.* 1. 1226, 2. 258.

For the motif of the *provinciae* of the gods cf. *h.* 1. 70-1, *h.* 3. 22-3, Oppian, *Hal.* 2. 15-42.

ἀνέρα: ἀνὴρ is frequently placed in apposition with another, more specific noun, both in epic (e.g. αἰπόλοι ἀνδρες *B* 474, αἰοῖδος ἀνὴρ γ 267) and in Greek generally: cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἀνὴρ vi. 1, Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.* s.v. ἀνὴρ 5 (a) 'cum substantivo adiectivi vice posito', Leaf on *A* 194. Note the *variatio* in form and word order from *h.* 1. 71 ἀνδρα σκέσπολον.

αἰοῖδόν: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 94-5 ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἐκ ἡβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος | ἄνδρες αἰοῖδοι ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κίθαριστά. Apollo was himself a singer (*A* 603 etc.), and hence the instructor of mortal bards (*θ* 488 etc.); cf. Wernicke, 16 f., Furtwängler, 435 f. ('Apollon als Gott der Orakel, der Musik, und der Dichtkunst').

44. Φοῖβω γάρ...: the parenthesis is a regular feature of the Alexandrian poetic style; the instances of its use in Call. are listed and analysed by Lapp, 52-3. Ruhnken (followed by Maas, *Zum Text* ...) rejected this line as an interpolation: but it does in fact serve to reiterate the god's paradoxical combination of martial and artistic powers, for which see on 19 above. Call. also emphasizes here by means of the repeated κείνος, the parenthesis, and καὶ... καί, that only Apollo's claims to these various attributes were rightful, though they were, according to some traditions, contested by Hermes (in music: see *h.hom.* 4, *passim*, and especially Allen-Halliday-Sikes on 450), by Artemis (in archery: *Y* 71 etc.; cf. Call. *h.* 3. 8 ff.!), and by various deities in prophecy (see on 45).

ἐπιτρέπεται: of a duty or area of responsibility being entrusted to a particular deity at *E* 750 = *Θ* 394 (Ὁραὶ) τῆς ἐπιτρέπεται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλύμπός τε.

45. θριαί: Hesychius offers three explanations of this word, all closely connected: αἱ πρῶται μάντιες καὶ νύμφαι καὶ αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι.

The Thriai, hypostatized, were three nymphs of Parnassus, who had nursed Apollo, and practised a form of divination separate from

Apollo's (*h.hom.* 4. 552 ff.: note that the actual word *Θριαί* does not occur in the transmitted text, but was conjectured by Gottfried Hermann; see J. H. Waszink, *Biene und Honig* ..., 10 n. 10); according to the Homeric hymn, Apollo gave up his patronage of these nymphs and conferred it on Hermes in exchange for the lyre.

The *μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι* by means of which the Thriai practised divination are frequently mentioned: see the scholia here, *Et. Magn.* 455. 34 f., Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 *fr.* 195, etc. According to a story preserved in *Et. Magn.* loc. cit., Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. *Θρία*, and Zenobius, *prov. cent.* 5. 75, the goddess Athena either herself discovered this form of divination or took it over from the Thriai; it offered such serious competition to the Delphic oracle that Zeus, in order to conciliate Apollo, intervened and rendered divination by pebbles invalid. Modern writers (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, i. 379-81, Jacoby on *FGrH* 328 *fr.* 195, Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 347) have tended to discount the involvement of Athena with the *θριαί*, seeing in it an artificial attempt by ancient etymologists to connect the *θριαί* with the *Θριάσιον πῆδιον* in Attica. However that may be, at *h.* 5. 121 ff. Callimachus depicts Athena conferring mantic powers on Teiresias, and at *fr.* 260. 50, in an Attic context, he makes Hecale speak of the Thriai inspiring the prophetic crow. Fontenrose, *Python*, 431 n. 37 stresses the importance of Athena Pronaia at Delphi; cf. also Euphorion, *fr.* 2 Powell.

The *Suda*, s.v. *Πυθώ*, records that above the bronze tripod at Delphi was a jar containing the *μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι*, and though this evidence was doubted by Wilamowitz, it now seems clear that divination by lot, in which pebbles were used, was regularly practised at Delphi, possibly as a humble alternative to the full-scale consultation of the oracle, (as is suggested by the proverb Zenobius was attempting to elucidate: πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες,) or conceivably to eliminate some would-be inquirers: see Parke, *Greek Oracles*, 86-8: cf. also the verb *θριάζειν* cited by Hesychius and *Et. Magn.* For fuller discussions see Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes*, 27-8, 62-4, 133; Parke and Wormell: *Delphic Oracle*, i. 15 n. 23; Jacoby on *FGrH* 328 *fr.* 195, Fontenrose, 426-33.

The point of Call.'s wording here is to emphasize that despite the claims of Hermes (and, possibly, of Athena also) all forms of divination and prophecy are subject to Apollo; but by including them in this list of Apolline professionals, he presumably means *θριαί* to be taken as human prophetesses, not the nymphs or the pebbles.

μάντιες: once only in Homer (*Ω* 221). Other gods and heroes exercised oracular powers, notably Zeus at Dodona, his non-Greek counterpart Ammon in Libya, Amphiarus at Oropus, Trophonius at Lebadea, and Asclepius at Epidaurus; again, Call. exclusively champions the claims of Apollo.

46. ἱητροί: the form *ἱητρός* is slightly less common in Homer (5 instances) than the alternative *ἱητήρ* (7 instances). For Apollo as god of medicine see, in addition to the passages cited in the introduction

to this section, Aesch. *Eum.* 62 (ἱατρόμαντις, a word also used of Apollo's son Apis at Aesch. *Supp.* 263), Aristoph. *Birds*, 584, *Plutus*, 11, Kaibel *EG* 798. 1, Wernicke, 15. In Homer Apollo does exercise medical skills (e.g. *Π* 528-9), but he has no monopoly in this area, the chief competition being presented by the shadowy figure of Paieon (*E* 401, 899, δ 231-2), whose identity and functions are subsequently taken over by Apollo. Later he shares this field with his 'son' Asclepius: see *h.hom.* 16 with Allen-Halliday-Sikes's introductory note, Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, 98 ff. This partnership is reflected in the Hippocratic oath: ὁμνυμι Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας . . . Cf. Herodas 4 init., *Paean Erythraeus* (Powell 136), etc. Another son of Apollo, Aristaeus, had medical training (A.R. 2. 514), and at Cyrene he was credited with the discovery of the medicinal herb silphium (scholia to Aristoph. *Knights*, 894). Once again Call. tacitly rejects the claim of such lesser deities.

δεδάσιν: 'have learnt', hence 'know'. This form is not previously attested (though it recurs frequently in later epic; Nonnus, for example, uses it ten times). Homer uses the 3rd person singular δέδασ (ζ 233, θ 448, υ 72, ψ 160; cf. Theoc. *Id.* 24. 129) and the participle δedaῶς (ρ 519, *h.hom.* 4. 510; cf. A.R. 2. 247): on these forms see van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium*, 335, Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 395, 428. Though the form may have occurred in earlier epic poetry no longer extant, it could be Call.'s own creation by analogy: cf. Giangrande, *CQ* 21 (1971), 146 n. 1, 'Hellenistic poets added their own forms to Homeric defective paradigms'. In Homer the indicative δέδασ is causal, 'has taught' (it is always used of a god imparting some skill to a mortal), but δedaῶς is used passively, 'having learnt', whereas here Call. is combining an indicative form with the sense of the participle and the infinitive δεδάσθαι (π 316).

ἀνάβλησιν: 'postponement'; the word is a Homeric rarity (*B* 380, Ω 655, both with dependent genitives), equivalent in sense to the more commonplace but metrically inconvenient ἀναβολήν (cf. ἀναβάλλεται in 22). Aratus (886 etc.) and A.R. (1. 861 etc.) use ἀμβολή. Cf. the recherché ἀπόκτισιν, equivalent to ἀποικίαν in 75 below.

47-54. Callimachus now turns to Apollo's powers as a pastoral god; Apollo first manifested these powers in the period of his servitude to Admetus, when he tended the king's mares: ever since, his favour has ensured the fertility of all herds.

47. Νόμιον: the cult of Apollo Νόμιος is mentioned by A.R. 4. 1218 (the scene is Orikos, in Epirus), [Theoc.] *Id.* 25. 21 (set in Elis); it is also attested in Arcadia, Epidauros, and Patrae. In Cyrene Νόμιος was a title of Apollo's son Aristaeus: see Pindar, *P.* 9. 64-5. For Apollo as a pastoral god see Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 123 ff., Furtwängler, 432 ff., Wernicke, 10, Williams, *CQ* 21 (1971), 141.

κυκλήσκομεν: both Homeric senses, 'invoke' (e.g. *I* 569) and 'name' (e.g. *B* 813) are apt here; cf. *h.* 3. 154. The unspecified subject is

probably quite general ('we men', or 'we Greeks') rather than 'we Cyreneans', though in this section Call. begins to focus his attention on Cyrene. Cf. Limenius, *Paean Delph.* ii. 17-18 ἐκεῖνας ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς Παιήονα κυκλήσκομεν.

ἐξέτι + genitive is a Homeric rarity: ἐξέτι πατρῶν θ 245*, ἐξέτι τοῦ δτε . . . *I* 106. The clausula ἐξέτι κείνου recurs at *h.* 4. 275, A.R. 2. 782, 4. 430 (ἐξέτι κείνου | ἐξ οὗ . . .), Nonnus, *D.* 12. 361, all of which are in aetiological passages.

48. ἐξέτ': for the repetition of ἐξ cf. θ 539-40, A.R. 4. 430-1 (quoted on previous line); the slight pleonasm is paralleled by μέσφ' ὅτε *fr.* 260. 4, *h.* 3. 195, ἡμιος ὅτ' Aratus 584, A.R. 4. 267, 452; cf. ὅτ' ἡμιος Herodas 3. 55, and see Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, i (Basel, 1926), 55.

ἐπ' Ἀμφρυσσῶ: Homer sets this episode ἐν Πηρεῖῃ (*B* 767); but the name of the river is regularly mentioned in later allusions to the story, e.g. Virgil, *Geo.* 3. 1-2 '... et te memorande canemus / pastor ab Amphryso . . .', Lucan 6. 367 'irrigat Amphrysos famulantis pascua Phoebi', Statius, *Silv.* 1. 4. 105 'aut Amphrysiaco pastor de gramine carpsi'.

ζευγίτιδας: this feminine form of ζευγίτης is attested only here, and is possibly a Callimachean coinage; see Schmitt, 26 n. 44. It is equivalent in sense to ζύγιος (Eur. *IA* 221) or ζυγηφόρος (Eur. *Heracles* 120). This type of formation is common in Call., e.g. χορίτις *h.* 3. 13, 4. 306, ἀγγελιώτις *h.* 4. 216, δρηστis *ep.* 41. 4, λεχωίς-*h.* 3. 127, 4. 56, 124 (also at A.R. 4. 136); cf. also A.R. 3. 1219 ποταμητίδες.

ἐτρεφεν: cf. θρέψ', *B* 767.

ἵππους: Apollo tends horses for Admetus in the Homeric account, but in Euripides (e.g. *Alc.* 8 ἐβουφόρβουν: but see Dale's note) and in the later versions he is a cowherd: cf. Antipater Thess., *AP* 9. 241, Apollodorus 1. 9. 15, 3. 10. 3-4, Tibullus 2. 3. 11-14a, Lygdamus 4. 67, Ovid, *Her.* 5. 151, *Ars Am.* 2. 239, Antoninus Liberalis 23, Longus 4. 14, Nonnus, *D.* 10. 322; cf. the ancient commentators on the *Eclogues* of Virgil, who saw this episode as providing the inspiration for pastoral poetry: see Donatus, quoted by Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*, 18, Philargyrius, *ibid.* 20.

49. ἡϊθέου: 'unmarried youth' (*Δ* 474 etc.); it is thus semantically equivalent to Ἀδμήτριοι: cf. παρθένος ἀδμής ζ 109, παρθένω ἀδμήτῃ *h.hom.* 5. 82. For this kind of jeu étymologique, frequent in Call., cf. Κυκλάδας . . . περιηγέας *h.* 4. 198. This emphasis on Admetus' youth, and the erotic motivation of Apollo's servitude, are not certainly attested in earlier literature (the usual version being that Apollo was being punished for killing the Cyclopes), but in view of the variety of versions of this popular story (cf. scholia to Eur. *Alc.* 1), these elements are not necessarily the invention of Call., as some commentators have suggested. Rhianus, *fr.* 10 Pow. seems to belong to an account in which Apollo's love for Admetus was stressed, and it has been argued that this may be earlier than the present passage: see Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, i². 68, Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 122 n. 3,

G. Solimano, 'Il mito di Apollo e Admeto negli elegiaci latini', in *Mythos: scripta in honorem M. Untersteiner* (Genoa, 1970), 255–68.

For the situation of a god serving as herdsman for erotic reasons cf. *h.hom.* 19. 32, Longus 2. 34.

The hiatus (ἡθέου ὑπ') is regular; cf. α 21 ἀντιθέω 'Οδυσσὶ πάρος ἦν γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι.

ὑπ' ἔρωτι: the same phrase recurs at *h.* 3. 191*, A.R. 3. 3*, 4. 569*. ὑπό + dative expressing 'under the compulsion of' is Homeric, e.g. N 590.

κεκαυμένος: for the image of love as fire, not found in Homer but common elsewhere from Aesch. *PV* 590 onwards, see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 195. 23, Pearson on *Soph. fr.* 474. 3, Gow on *Theoc. Id.* 3. 17, 7. 55, Pease on Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 1 ff., Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. Odes* 1. 33. 6, Brandt on Ovid, *Am.* 1. 126.

Ἀδμήτιο: note the spondaic fifth foot. It is instructive to observe how Nonnus, in alluding to this passage, practises *oppositio in imitando*: . . . λαοίης Μαγνησιίδος ἔνδοθεν ὕλης | βουκόλος Ἀδμήτιο βόας ποίμαινεν Ἀπόλλων | παιδὸς ἔρωτοτόκου βεβολημένος ἡδέϊ κέντρῳ (*D.* 10. 322–4). Nonnus indicates the scene not as the Thessalian river, but the neighbouring Magnesian forest; βουκόλος recalls, and at the same time varies, the title Νόμιος; instead of ἵππους he has βόας; for ἔτρεφεν (augmented) he writes ποίμαινεν; ἡθέου is replaced by its synonym παιδὸς; ὑπ' ἔρωτι is echoed by ἔρωτοτόκου; for the metaphor of love as fire, he substitutes love as wound (cleverly introducing a pastoral touch with κέντρῳ), but still expresses the notion with a perfect participle passive (βεβολημένος for κεκαυμένος: both placed before the bucolic caesura).

50. ρεῖα: the gods exercise their functions with ease: cf., for example, Hes. *Theog.* 438, 443. This whole passage (50–4) recalls part of the 'hymn to Hecate', Hes. *Theog.* 444–7: ἐσθλὴ δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληῖδ' ἀέξειν, | βουκολίας τ' ἀγέλας τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν | ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων δίων, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα, | ἐξ ὀλέγων βριάει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν. Cf. also [*Theoc.*] *Id.* 25. 114–25, where the health and fertility of Augeas' flocks are similarly attributed to the favour of Helios, Augeas' father.

βουβόσιον: a rare word, first attested at Aratus 1120 σκυθραὶ λειμῶνος πόριες καὶ βουβοσίον (Schmitt, 39 n. 13 overlooks this instance). It is formed on the analogy of *συβόσιον* 'herd of swine' (*A* 679, § 101). In Aratus it clearly means 'pasture-land', and is so interpreted by the scholia here (ὁ τόπος ἔθα οἱ βόες νέμονται); since, however, the whole passage is concerned with the increase of all kinds of grazing animals, and both αἰγες and οἰες (53) appear to be parallel to βουβόσιον, it may be that Call. is taking over Aratus' word and reapplying it in the sense 'herd of cows' by stricter analogy with Homer's *συβόσιον*. (Strabo's use of the word at 12. 4. 7 τὴν περὶ Σάλανα χώραν ἀρίστην βουβοσίῳ is conclusive.) Cf. the double application of βουκολία, Hes. *Theog.* 445 (quoted above: discussed by West, *CQ* 12 (1962), 178–9), A.R. 1. 627.

τελέθου: the optative does not occur in Homer, but the use ('become') is Homeric: cf. *I* 441, ρ 486, and (in a pastoral context) δ 85 Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν. The construction of this sentence, though unusual, is regular: the subordinate clause (ῥισιν . . . ἐπήγαγεν 51–2) is in the indicative, the apodosis in the optative + κε, as at *Z* 128; see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* . . . , 190, § 503. Cahen's translation of the optatives ('Le parc aura bien vite plus de bétail', etc.: cf. Howald-Staiger, 'Reicher an Vieh wird bald die Weide werden', etc.) is more precise than Mair's ('Lightly would the herd wax larger . . .'), which implies that Call. is still referring to the Admetus episode, rather than to Apollo's subsequent powers as νόμιος.

51. δεύουσιντο: the Homeric form of the 3rd person plural of the present optative is *δευοίατο* (*B* 128, *E* 202).

βρεφείων: βρέφος occurs only once in Homer, at *Ψ* 266, where the context (ἵππων . . . βρέφος ἡμίονον κνέουσιν) shows that it denotes a foal as yet unborn; but this is not a separate usage, as some lexicographers have suggested.

ἐπιμηλάδες is not attested elsewhere, and has caused much difficulty. The scholiasts are confused: τὸ δ' ἐπιμηλάδες ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ τῶν μῆλων νεμόμεναι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰς αἰγὰς μῆλα λέγουσιν, ὡς Ὅμηρος (ι 184) ἐπεξηγούμενος τί εἰσι μῆλα φησὶ, 'μῆλ' οἰέσ τε καὶ αἰγες'. ἀν δὲ ἐμμηλάδες γράφεται, ἀντὶ τοῦ θήλειαι εἶσιν. (Pfeiffer, ii. 51.)

The first interpretation ('those which are pastured with the sheep') fails to explain the prefix ἐπι-; moreover, it would foist on Call. an uncharacteristic banality, for it was normal in antiquity for sheep and goats to be pastured together. Hence Christ's pastoral analogy for the Last Judgement, *Ev. Matt.* 25. 32 ἀφοριεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων—previously, the sheep and the goats had grazed together. Cf. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloë*, 1. 10 *fin.*: θάπτον ἂν τις εἶδε τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας (codd.: αἰγας coni. Schaefer) ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μεμερισμένας ἢ Χλόην καὶ Δάφνην.

The reading ἐμμηλάδες attested by the scholia and glossed as θήλειαι (!) gains some support from the entry in Hesychius: ἐμμηλάδας αἰγας· τὰς μετὰ τῶν προβάτων νεμόμενας. (This interpretation, it must be admitted, is more appropriate to this reading than to ἐπιμηλάδες.) However, it seems highly likely that the variant *EMMHΛADEΣ* arose from a misreading of *EΠΙΜΗΛΑΔΕΣ*, the reading of the direct tradition; it may therefore be discarded. In short, the ancient commentators failed to account either for the form or the significance of this ἀπαξ, and offer only trivial explanations.

Most modern scholars have resorted to conjecture, with no better results; many of them propose some variation of Ruhnken's ἐπιμηκάδες, incorporating the Homeric epithet *μηκάδες* for 'bleating' goats. In this context such expressions would be intolerably banal: one expects the result of divine intervention to be more spectacular. Schneider's ἐνιμηλάδες is equally trivial whether taken as 'quae inter oves versantur' with its author, or as 'pregnant' with Kuiper. Such attempts are methodologically faulty: in principle, a difficult gloss

of this kind should not be expelled from the text in favour of a more or less trivial conjecture which succeeds only in filling up the line; rather, we should seek to explain its actual form and significance.

In this case there are several cognate words which are highly relevant: *ἐπιμήλιος* 'protector of herds' was an epithet of Apollo at Camirus (Apollodorus, *FGrH* 244 fr. 95 = Macrobius 1. 17. 45); in the same Dorian city Artemis, Apollo's sister, was accorded the equivalent title *ἐπιμηλίδιος* (attested in an inscription roughly contemporary with Call.: see LSJ *Suppl.*). The adjective *ἐπιμηλίδες* 'protectresses of flocks' is on several occasions applied to nymphs (see LSJ s.v.), and Pausanias 8. 4. 2 records the variant form *ἐπιμηλιάδες*.

As is well known, it was the constant practice of Greek poets from Homer onwards to create new forms of adjectives by replacing the normal termination with an ending of equivalent sense: see Risch, *Wortbildung*, 130, Schwyzer, i. 464. Hellenistic poets and their successors, such as the Oppiani and Nonnus, exploited this possibility to the full: see Cahen, *Callimaque*, 509–12. Examples of this tendency are legion, and by a remarkable coincidence, two of the most striking instances in Callimachus are both adjectives predicated of goats: at fr. 75. 13 he writes *αἴγας ἐς ἀγριάδας*, varying the common expression *εἰς ἀγρίας αἴγας*; and in line 61 below, and also at *ep.* 62. 1, instead of the normal *Κύνθια* he coins *Κυνθιάδες* (a form at first sight suggesting nymphs, not goats: cf. McKay, *Mnemosyne* 21 (1968), 174).

Thus, according to the linguistic rules observed by the Alexandrian poets, *ἐπιμηλίας* is morphologically equivalent to *ἐπιμηλῖς* / *ἐπιμηλιάς* / *ἐπιμήλιος* / *ἐπιμηλίδιος*, and must here be interpreted in the same sense 'protectress of flocks'.

In determining the precise function of the word in its context, Aristotle's observations on the breeding habits of sheep and goats are relevant: *τίκτουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστα δύο, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τρία ἢ τέτταρα. κύει δὲ πέντε μῆνας καὶ πρόβατον καὶ αἶζ. διὸ ἐν ἐνίοις τόποις ὅσοι ἀλεεινοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἐν οἷς εὐημεροῦσι καὶ τροφήν ἄφθονον ἔχουσι, δις τίκτουσιν . . . διδυμοτοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες διὰ τ' εὐβοσίαν, καὶ ἐὰν ὁ κριὸς ἢ ὁ τράγος ἢ διδυμοτόκος ἢ ἡ μήτηρ. (HA 6. 19; cf. Stephanus Byzantinus s.v. Ἀδρία, Columella 7. 6. 7. For another example of Call.'s use of Aristotle's zoological lore see on line 110 below.)*

Thus, goats and sheep are prolific when they enjoy sun and good grazing; these are precisely the conditions which Call. specifies here: the words *ἦσαν Ἀπόλλων ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν* may be another allusion to the identification of Apollo and the sun (see on 9 above), and if this is admitted, are equivalent in prosaic terms to *ἐν τόποις ὅσοι ἀλεεινοὶ εἰσι*. Pasture also is stressed: *βοσκομένης* is emphatically placed at the beginning of 52. What Call. is saying is that under Apollo's care the nanny-goats will breed so fast that within a short space of time they will be 'protectresses' of a flock consisting of their own offspring. (For example, five nannies producing twins twice a year will within twelve months become the 'guardians' or 'protectresses' of a flock numbering twenty-five.) In this way Apollo confers on the goats under his care

some of his own attributes: he himself is a twin, and the goats bear twins; he is *ἐπιμήλιος*, they become *ἐπιμηλιάδες*.

Fertility of this order is mentioned by Menelaus as one of the wonders of a foreign land he has visited, δ 86–9 *τρὶς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. | ἔνθα μὲν οὔτε ἀναξ ἐπιδενῆς οὔτε τι ποιμήν | τυροῦ καὶ κρειῶν, οὐδὲ γλυκεροῦ γάλακτος | ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρέχουσιν ἐπιγετανὸν γάλα θῆσθαι*. Call. is clearly alluding to this passage here: *ἐπιδενῆς* is recalled by *δεύοιτο*; the triple negative *οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐδέ* is echoed by *οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ*; the line-ending *γάλακτος* is matched by *ἀγάλακτες*. It can hardly be a coincidence that Menelaus is describing Libya, i.e. the hinterland of Cyrene, the city with which so much of this hymn is concerned.

52. *βοσκομένης ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν*: the phrase suggests that Apollo Nomios watches over his flocks like a mortal herdsman, as at ξ 103–4 *ἐνθάδε δ' αἰγῶν ἐνδεκα πάντα | ἐσχατιῇ βόσκοντ'*, ἐπὶ δ' *ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται*. At the same time it may suggest the notion of Apollo as the sun; cf. Γ 277 *Ἡελίος θ', ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις*. The sun (Helios) as herdsman is of course a Homeric figure: cf. λ 108–9 *βοσκομένης δ' εὐρηγε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα | Ἡελίου, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει*. Call. has, I believe, skilfully combined all these strands with the underlying notion of the actual need of the goats for sun. (For a similar conflation cf. the sacred flock of Helios at *Apollonia* in Epirus, Hdt. 9. 93–4.)

ὀφθαλμὸν: for the sun as an eye cf. Soph. *Ant.* 104 *ἀμέρας βλέφαρον*, Aristoph. *Clouds* 285 *ὄμμα αἰθέρος*, Eur. *IT* 194 *ἱερὸν ὄμμα αὐγᾶς ἄλιος*. For the concept of the beneficent eye of the deity see Giangrande, *Hermes* 96 (1969), 713 (= Skiadas, 324).

ἐπήγαγεν: 'set (his eye) on'; for parallels see fr. 674 and cf. Giangrande, loc. cit.

ἀγάλακτες: another example of the mutation of adjectives (see on 51 above). The more usual form is *ἀγάλακτος* (Aesch. *Ag.* 718, Hippocrates, *nat. puer.* 247. 9, Galen 6. 346 Kühn) and *ἀγάλαξ* is probably a Callimachean innovation. The modification of the form corresponds to a change in the meaning: *ἀγάλακτες* means 'having no milk (to give)', *ἀγάλακτος* 'receiving no milk'.

In the area of Galaxia in Boeotia abundance of milk was thought to betoken an epiphany of Apollo: see Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.* 29 (= *Mor.* 409 b), and the Pindaric fragment (104b) preserved there.

53. *οἶες* is an ancient variant at ι 425, when the vulgate reads *ἄρσενες οἶες ἦσαν ἐνπρεφέες δασυμάλλοι*, and was accepted into the text by Aristarchus; see Ludwig, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, i. 576. Call.'s use of it here suggests that it may also have been adopted by Zenodotus: cf. von Jan, 94–5, Schmitt, 22 n. 11; for the influence of Zenodotus' text of Homer on Call. see Pfeiffer on fr. 12. 6, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 139–40.

ἄκυθοι is not attested elsewhere, but is the reading both of the direct and of the unusually rich indirect tradition. Its form and etymology caused ancient lexicographers much perplexity: cf. Arcadius 49. 24,

Et. Magn. s.v. ἀκυθος and ἄκυτος, and especially Theognostus in Cramer, *Anecd. Ox.* ii. 58–9: ἀκυθος ἢ ἡμίονος, παρὰ τὸ μὴ κύειν. The unanimity of the tradition and the very difficulty of the reading are powerful arguments against conjecture. However, Schmitt, 12 n. 23, has proposed ἄκυτοι, suggesting at the same time that Hesychius' ἀκυνον· ατοκον be changed to ἄκυνον· ἄτοκον; against this, see Hiersche, *Gnomon* 45 (1973), 438–9.

The sense of the word is not in doubt: it must clearly mean 'without offspring'. Three etymological theories can be extracted from the entry in *Et. Magn.*: (i) from κύω, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ θ, (ii) from κύθω = κρύπτω· κύθεται γὰρ καὶ κρύπτεται ἢ τε γονῇ καὶ τὸ κύημα ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ, (iii) from κύθος = σπέρμα. The last is possibly the least unconvincing. On this view ἄκυθος could well be a Callimachean creation, equivalent in form and sense to ἀγονος or ἀσπορος (see LSJ s.v., IV).

πᾶσαι . . . ὕπαρνοι: cf. *Song of Songs*, 6. 6 ὁδόντες σου ὡς ἀγέλαι τῶν κεκαρμένων, αἱ ἀνέβησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ· αἱ πᾶσαι διδυμεύουσαι, καὶ ἀτεκνοῦσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐταῖς, [Theoc.] *Id.* 25. 124–5 ἦ γὰρ ἅπασαι | ζωτόκοι τ' ἦσαν περιώσια θηλυτόκοι τε.

ὕπαρνοι: 'with lambs at their udders', cf. Hesychius, ὕπαρνος ποίμνη· ἄρνας ἔχουσα. Previously attested at Eur. *And.* 557: it is equivalent to the Homeric ὑπόρρηνον, *K* 216 (ἀπαξ); see Schmitt, 107 n. 13.

54. ἡ . . . : the article is generic: cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 165. μουντοτός: μονοτόκος is a technical term (Aristotle, *HA* 576^a1, *GA* 772^b1) which Call. has epicized *metri causa*; see Cahen, *Callimache*, 493, Schmitt, 143 n. 15. Cf. πρωτοτόκος *P* 5 (of a cow), Theoc. *Id.* 5. 27 (of a goat), ὠμοτόκος Call. *h.* 4. 120, 6. 52 (of the lion), and the Aristotelian terms ζωτόκος and θηλυτόκος at [Theoc.] *Id.* 25. 125 (quoted on last line).

διδυματός: the reading of the manuscripts is διδυμοτόκος (see Smiley, *CQ* 14 (1920), 2), the normal prosaic form (e.g. at Aristotle, *HA* 6. 19, cited on 51 above), which is of course unmetrical. Editors have tended to change this to the supposedly Ionic form διδυμητόκος rather than to διδυματόκος, which was conjectured by Stephanus. However, Homer has the forms διδυμάωνε (*E* 548, *Z* 26) and διδυμάοισιν (*Π* 672, 682), and the Doric form διδυματόκος recurs at *Orph. h.* 35. 1, on which see Giangrande, *Hermes* 98 (1970), 276 (for Dorisms in Call. see *ibid.* 269–75). The juxtaposition of an 'Ionic' μουντοτός with a 'Doric' διδυματόκος is a piquant touch entirely in keeping with the Alexandrian taste for dialect mixtures: cf. *fr.* 203. 17–18. Further support for the 'Doric' form comes from the probable reminiscence of the present passage at Longus 2. 34, where a god (Pan) for erotic reasons (he is attempting to gain the favours of Syrinx) ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰς αἰγὰς πάσας θῆσεν διδυματόκους. The form with α occurs also at Theoc. *Id.* 1. 25, 8. 45, the form with η at Philip, *AP* 6. 99. 5, Nonnus, *D.* 48. 425.

For Apollo's ability to bring about twin births in cattle see Frazer's edition of Apollodorus, appendix ix (vol. ii. 376 f.): 'Perhaps, as himself a twin, Apollo may have been supposed to possess a special power

of promoting the birth of twins in animals.' Frazer adduces various parallels from folklore.

55–64. The poet now turns to Apollo's role of builder and founder of cities; he traces back this interest to Apollo's construction, at the age of four years, of the famous horned altar (which is humorously represented as a miniature city) on Delos. This section, like the last, is, in formal terms, an αἵτιον.

55. Φοῖβω . . . ἄνθρωποι (56): both words are emphatically placed. Ancient authors disagreed on who was responsible for the invention of cities: in Aesch. *PV* 450 ff. Prometheus claims the credit, whereas for A.R. it was his son Deucalion δὲ πρῶτος ποίησε πόλεις καὶ εἰδεύματο νηοὺς | ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύσεν (3. 1088–9). Here Call. declares that Apollo was the pioneer, and that mortals merely emulate his example. *Fr.* 467 seems to be related to this issue, though which view it supports is not clear, and Pfeiffer's first thoughts (ad loc.) differ considerably from his second thoughts (*Addenda* to vol. i, p. 509): in the light of the transmitted reading εἰδεύμεν at 94 below (q.v.), Pfeiffer's first interpretation seems preferable.

For Apollo's concern with cities see Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 374 ff., Furtwängler, 438–41, Wernicke, 18, Lombardo, *Ann. d. Sc. Norm. Sup. di Pisa* 3 (1972), 63–89.

ἑσπόμενοι: the form is Homeric (*M* 395, etc.). The sense is particularly rich: men follow Apollo in founding cities in that they follow the example he set in building the altar at Delos (58–64); they are also guided by his advice (65) and even by his presence (66–7); further, he himself 'weaves the foundations' (57), thus inaugurating the building of the city. In the case of Battus and his followers, there is still another sense in which they 'followed' Apollo: he preceded them at the site of Cyrene (91). Cf. Lombardo, 69 (the quotation from Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 27. 5 is of particular interest), 73. Apollo was worshipped as ἀρχηγέτης at Delos and Naxos.

πόλιας: a Homeric rarity, trisyllabic at *Δ* 308* (v.l. πόλεας, preferred by Aristarchus and others) and *h.hom.* 2. 93*, but disyllabic at *θ* 560 and 574: see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 218. It is a trisyllable also at *h.* 3. 36*, *fr.* 186. 13* (πόλιας), A.R. 1. 982*.

διεμετρήσαντο: at *Γ* 315 χῶρον . . . διεμέτρεον (active) means 'measured out the ground' (for a duel); later the middle is used as a technical term for surveying land, e.g. in the ambiguous oracle at Herodotus 1. 66 καὶ καλὸν πεδίων σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι, the description of how the Romans build their camps, Polybius 6. 41. 3 διαμετροῦνται τὴν περίστασιν τῆς σκηνῆς, or Plutarch's account (*Alexander* 26) of the founding of Alexandria: τόπον . . . ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο καὶ περιέβαλλεν. The word covers all the business of surveying the site of a new city and parcelling out its land: cf. Lombardo, 73–4.

The phrase πόλιας διαμετρήσασθαι recurs at *h.* 3. 36*, where it is one of the favours conferred on Artemis by Zeus.

On the form of the clausula see on 13 above.

56. Φοῖβος . . . πολίεσσι: for the double anaphora *per polyptoton* cf. *h.* 1. 42–3, 6. 70–1. Note also the alliteration of p-consonants both in this line and in the passage (55–9) as a whole.

πολίεσσι: this form is a Homeric rarity, at *φ* 252, *ω* 355 (where there is a v.l. πολέεσσι), but is the usual form in Call., occurring four times, whereas πόλει is used once only, at *h.* 3. 20.

φιληδεῖ: the verb is attested in comedy, Aristoph. *Peace*, 1130, Antiphanes, *fr.* 126 Kock, but this is not sufficient evidence for labelling it as a colloquial word, as do Kuiper and Cahen; ἀηδήσειεν, from ἀηδεῖν 'feel disgust at', is a variant at *a* 134, and the present usage may derive from an epic model no longer extant.

57. κτιζομένης: κτίζειν is rare in Homer (*Y* 216, *λ* 263). Apollo was worshipped as κτίστης at Thurii and at Cyrene (where the evidence dates from the imperial period: Chamoux, *Cyrene*, 301 n. 5, Vitali, *Fonti per la storia della religione cyrenaica*, 24 ff., 126). For the part played by the Delphic oracle in encouraging the foundation of new cities see Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 25 ff., Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, i. 49 ff., and the works cited by Lombardo, 63.

αὐτός: emphatic, as at 90* below. For the motif of a deity's general favour being crowned by his actual presence cf. *h.* 1. 81–2 δῶκας δὲ πολίεθρα φυλασσέμεν, Ἴζεο δ' αὐτός | ἄκρησ' ἐν πολίεσσιν ἐπόπιος . . . Apollo himself helped to build the walls of Troy (*H* 452–3) and the acropolis of Megara (Paus. 1. 42. 2, Theognis 1. 773: . . . αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην). He also built the foundations of his own temple at Delphi (*h.hom.* 3. 254–94).

Note that in arithmetical terms this is the exact centre of the hymn, and this phrase combines two of the poem's themes. The more obvious of these is the motif of Apollo's epiphany: the poem as a whole is set in the context of an expected epiphany, and the blessings of Apollo's benevolent presence are repeatedly stressed, both in general (10–11, 14–15, 40–1) and in relation to specific occasions in the past when Apollo manifested himself to men (48–9, 66–7, 99–104). The other theme is first suggested at 15, where Apollo is represented as having the power to ensure that the city-walls continue to stand on their ancient foundations; 67 recalls his oath to give city-walls to 'our kings'; at 94, according to the transmitted text, Apollo is said to have built more ὀφέλιμα for Cyrene than for any other city.

θεμελίαι: for the form see on 15 above, and cf. *M* 28*, *Ψ* 255*, *h.hom.* 3. 254*, 294*.

ὕφαινει: this is not simply a heightened synonym of διέθηκε at *h.hom.* 3. 254 = 294, to which Call. is pointedly alluding in this passage (see further on next line); it also serves to prepare for the account of how Apollo built the Delian altar (61–4), in which context it becomes particularly appropriate; its occurrence here provides the reader with a useful clue with which to solve the enigma of 63–4. For ὑφαίνειν in descriptions of building cf. Aesch. *PV* 450–1 . . . πλινθυφεῖς | δόμους, Plato, *Crit.* 116 b . . . τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ μειγνύντες

τοὺς λίθους ποικίλα ὑφαινον, Triphiodorus, 536 (of bees) κηρὸν ὑφαίνουσai μελιηδέα ποικιλοτέχναι, Paulus Silentarius, *H. Sophia* 648 λεπτὰς λαοτόρος παλάμη λαίγγγας ὑφαίνων; Nonnus, *Par.* 2. 98. While accepting the general thesis that the description of the horned altar has literary significance as a pointed *variatio* of the Homeric hymn (see on next line), I find Wimmel's contention (*Kallimachos in Rom*, 67) that ὑφαίνει here is used because of its applicability to literary composition forced and unconvincing.

58. τετραέτης: i.e. while still technically a baby (see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 33, Gow–Page, *Hell. Ep.*, ii. p. 538), and therefore before his journey from Delos, his birthplace, to Delphi, where he was to slay the serpent and found his temple. Call. is insisting that the altar on Delos was of greater antiquity than the temple at Delphi: see Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* ii. 64–5.

The childhood of the gods is one of the themes of the Homeric hymns (e.g. *h.hom.* 3. 131 ff., 4. 17 ff.) which appealed strongly to Alexandrian taste: cf. Call. *h.* 1. 54–6, 3. 5 ff., 4. 162 ff., A.R. 3. *init.*, Theoc. *Id.* 24. See Huber, *Lebensschilderungen und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epos*, c. 3.

The form τετραέτης is not attested in extant early epic (it occurs in Herodotus and other prose authors), but is consistent with such Homeric forms as τριέτες (β 106 etc.) and ἐπτάετες (γ 304 etc.): similarly εἰνέτης at *h.* 3. 14, 43 (on which see Schmitt, 122 nn. 71, 72). Poets also use τετράενον (*fr.* 33) and τετράενες (Theoc. *Id.* 7. 147).

τὰ πρῶτα: a frequent adverbial expression in Homer (*A* 6*, *Δ* 424*, etc.); again at 64 below, *h.* 4. 22*, 149*.

θεμελίαι Φοῖβος as in 57, 64. There is a clear and pointed allusion to the Homeric hymn to Apollo, where the foundation of the temple at Delphi is related, and there is repetition of the words: ὥς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμελίαι Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές . . . (*h.hom.* 3. 254–5 = 294–5). Since the θεμελίαι here are fashioned by a baby-god from goats' horns on the tiny island of Delos, they are necessarily on a smaller scale; correspondingly, the narrative of their construction is itself short and concentrated, in contrast to the diffuse style of the Homeric hymn.

ἔπηξε: another slightly surprising verb which becomes more meaningful later; partial precedents are νῆας ἔπηξε *B* 664, ἵκρια πῆσαι *ε* 163, πῆξε . . . ταμιῶν δόνακας *h.hom.* 4. 47 (of Hermes making the lyre).

59. καλῇ . . . λίμνης: an example of *imitatio cum variatione* of *h.hom.* 3. 280 ἐν καλῇ βήσση Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης, a line from the account of Apollo's foundation of the Delphic sanctuary.

Ὀρτυγίη: cf. *ε* 123*, *h.hom.* 3. 16*, A.R. 1. 537*, Call. *ep.* 62. 2*. The reference to the Sacred Lake shows that here Ortygia is identified with Delos, as at *fr.* 18. 7, *ep.* 62. 2. Besides Delos there were at least three places, and possibly more (see Höfer, in Roscher, s.v. *Ortygia*) known by this name: (i) in Aetolia (Nicander, *fr.* 5 = scholia to A.R. 1. 419); (ii) the island in the city of Syracuse; (iii) a grove near Ephesus, which was also claimed to be the birthplace of Apollo and

Artemis, and boasted its own sacred olive and even a horned altar (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 61, Strabo 14. 1. 20). All seem to have been cult-centres of Artemis, and it is often difficult to determine which of them is meant, e.g. at ε 123. In particular, *h.hom.* 3. 16 τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δῆλῳ, which appears to distinguish Ortygia, the birthplace of Artemis, from Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, was the subject of scholarly dispute in antiquity: see Allen-Halliday-Sikes ad loc., Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios*, 260 n. 38 (with bibliography).

περιηγέος ... λίμνης: the regular name of the lake was ἡ τροχοειδὴς λίμνη, Hdt. 2. 170; cf. Theognis 1. 7 with van Groningen's note. Thus Call. is varying the normal term, as he does again at *h.* 4. 261, τροχόεσσα ... λίμνη. The appropriateness of these adjectives is demonstrated by the aerial photograph in Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, pl. xxxii; the lake has since been drained.

60. Ἀρτεμῖς: the chiasmic word order of the sentence elegantly separates the names of the two gods as widely as possible.

ἀγρώσσουσα: ἀγρώσσω occurs once only in Homer, at ε 53, where it is used of a cormorant catching fish (cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 416). The assertion of commentators (e.g. Kuiper, Kranz) that ἀγρη and its cognates are used only for the catching of birds and fish, real hunting being expressed by θήρη etc., is a little misleading: at μ 330 ἀγρη does denote the hunting of fish and birds by men, but note that the words ἰχθὺς ὄρνιθας τε are added at 331 to limit the wider concept of ἀγρη; at χ 306 ἀγρη again refers to the hunting of birds, but by other birds; while at *h.hom.* 27. 5 ἀγρη τερπομένη (of Artemis) must include big game. Moreover, Artemis' title Ἀγροτέρη is attested in Homer, at Φ 471 (note that Aristarchus athetized this line). ἀγρώσσειν recurs at Lycophron 499, 600, Euphorion, *fr.* 58. 3 Powell, Nicander, *Ther.* 416, and frequently in the Oppiani, e.g. *Cyn.* 1. 129, *Hal.* 3. 339. Call. also makes much use of its cognates: cf. ἀγρεύσω *h.* 3. 85, ἀγρευτῆς *ep.* 31. 1, ἀγρευτῆρες *h.* 3. 218 (cf. Schmitt, 70 n. 7), ἀγρης *h.* 4. 229.

καρήατα: this form is found twice in Homer, at *A* 309 (nom.) and *P* 437*; cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 230-1; it recurs at *h.* 4. 134*, 236*.

συνεχές: the first syllable is long, as at *M* 26 and ι 74 ἐνθα δὲ νύκτας δύο τ' ἡματα συνεχὲς αἰεῖ, which this line to some extent echoes (cf. von Jan, 84); similarly at Aratus 20, A.R. 2. 738, Theoc. *Id.* 20. 12, Nicander, *Alex.* 571, Quintus 14. 601; cf. συνεχέως at Hes. *Theog.* 636, with the notes of Rzsch and West, Bacch. 5. 113. According to scholia *A* to *M* 26, Aristarchus and Aristophanes prescribed the spelling συνεχές, which appears in some Homeric manuscripts (cf. Eustathius on ι 74) and in the manuscripts of *Orph. Arg.* 724, 1140.

αἰγῶν | Κυνθιάδων: cf. Κυνθιάδες ... αἰγες *ep.* 62, a poem obviously related to this passage.

61. Κυνθιάδων: for the form see note on ἐπιμηλάδες (51); cf. Καρνειάδες (87), and other examples listed by Schmitt, 73-4. *H.hom.* 3. 157 has Δηλιάδες, which Call. uses at *h.* 4. 256.

φορέεσκεν: the iterative imperfect form of φορέω occurs seven times in Homer (*B* 770, *N* 372, etc.), always in this *sedes*, usually in the sense of 'wore' (armour). Cf. A.R. 2. 34*.

ὁ ... Ἀπόλλων: for a similar separation of article and proper name see *h.* 3. 68-9, with Bornmann's note ad loc.

ἐπλέκει: LSJ are wrong to assign a special significance 'make by art' to this instance; the normal sense of 'plait' is apt, as at Theoc. *Id.* 1. 52: ... ἀνθηρίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν. πλέκειν is found twice in Homer, Θ 176, κ 168.

βωμόν: the βωμὸς κεράτινος on Delos was a monument of great antiquity, associated with the legend of Theseus' voyage home from Crete (Dicaearchus, cited by Plutarch, *Theseus* 21), and presumably to be identified with the 'altar of Apollo' which Odysseus saw (ζ 162, quoted on 4 above). Throughout antiquity it was one of the main tourist attractions of Delos, along with the palm-tree and the sacred lake: e.g. Ovid, *Her.* 21. 99-100. Indeed, it was counted as one of the seven wonders of the world: cf. Plutarch, *de sollertia animalium* 35. 9 = *mor.* 983 e (quoted on next line), Martial, *spect.* 1. 4 (on which see Politian, *Miscellanea*, c. 52), *Excerpta Vaticana* 2 = anon. 'de incredibilibus' (edited by Festa in *Mythographi Graeci* 3. 2, Leipzig, 1902). Most of the literary and epigraphical evidence relating to the altar is conveniently collected and discussed by Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris, 1970). A further reference to the altar is of interest here; it occurs in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, one version of which certainly existed in the fifth century: the version we have embodies material by Alcidas, and doubtless traditions much older. (For an attempt to stratify the text of the *Certamen* see West, *CQ* 17 (1967), 433-50). According to this work, Homer διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κεράτινον βωμόν λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ "μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο". (O.C.T. Homer, vol. v, p. 237, lines 315-18; cf. Hes. *fr.* 357 M-W). If the altar was traditionally regarded as the site of the recitation by Homer of his *Hymn to Apollo*, it is particularly fitting that Callimachus should give a prominent place to the altar in his hymn to Apollo.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, in view of its construction from perishable materials, no physical remains of the altar have been firmly identified: see Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, 188, Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 98. Earlier identifications, such as that of Homolle, who proposed that the altar was the so-called 'Hall of Bulls' (*BCH* 8 (1884), 417-38), have been abandoned. Nor does the considerable epigraphic evidence indicate the precise site of the altar: see Laidlaw, *History of Délos*, 31; the vague indications offered by the literary sources (such as 59 above) suggest that it must have stood in the main sanctuary area, near the palm-tree and the lake: see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 26. (I am indebted to Mrs. E. M. Hooker, of the University of Birmingham, for allowing me to read her as yet unpublished work on the *Keraton*, a summary of which appeared in

Proceedings of the Classical Association 51 (1954), 54. The speculations I entertain on 63 are of course my own.)

Its form and construction are, therefore, inevitably obscure, though something can possibly be gleaned from a comparison of the present passage (written, it is only too clear, for *cognoscenti* familiar with the actual altar or at least with more straightforward accounts of it) with the passage of Plutarch in which he remarks that seeing the halcyon's nest reminded him of the horned altar: *obscura per obscurissima*, for the halcyon is a puzzling bird. (W. G. Arnott informs me that the description of the bird itself in Aristotle and Pliny has sufficient diagnostic features to identify it with the kingfisher; but the kingfisher nests in holes in the river-banks.) See on 63.

On Callimachus' fondness for describing archaic works of art see Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 290 (addendum to 246).

62. δείματο: Homer has both the active (*I* 349) and the middle (ζ 9, with augment; ξ 8, without) forms of the aorist, and this variation is reproduced by Call. (δείμε 77, ἔδειμεν 94) and A.R. (δείμεν 3. 37, ἔδειματο 3. 1088).

κεράεσσιν: a Homeric form, *N* 705*, τ 563*, *h.hom.* 4. 192, again at *fr.* 732*. The repetition κεράεσσιν . . . ἐκ κεράων . . . κεραούς emphasizes that only horns, and no other material, were used in the construction of the altar: see Plutarch, *de soll. anim.* 35. 9, quoted on next line.

ἐδέθλια: for the form cf. *fr.* 12. 4, *h.* 4. 228, contrast ἔδεθλον at line 72, *fr.* 162. 1 (?); the same variation is found in A.R. (ἔδεθλον 4. 331, ἐδέθλια 4. 630); see Schmitt, 35 n. 18, 71 n. 1. The basic meaning is 'sedes' (cf. Homeric ἔδος or ἔδρα) in a variety of applications: at *fr.* 12. 4 'settlement', at *h.* 4. 228 'throne'. Here the meaning is problematic, and two solutions seem possible, though both present difficulties: (i) ἐδέθλια, βωμός, and τοῖχοι may be separate structures, ἐδέθλια being possibly some sort of shrine, with the βωμός outside it, and the wall surrounding both, enclosing a τέμενος. Apollo's construction would thus resemble a miniature city, and his activities would prefigure those of mortal city-builders: cf. ζ 9-10 ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους | καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ δάσσατ' ἀρούρας. While this would be appropriate to this context, the existence of such a shrine, as distinct from the altar itself, is not suggested by any of the admittedly inadequate literary sources. Further, this interpretation would not explain the strange expressions ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους (63) and θεμειλία ἐγείρειν (64). (ii) The alternative is to regard ἐδέθλια, βωμός, and τοῖχοι as complementary parts of the whole altar-structure; in this case, ἐδέθλια would presumably denote the 'base', on which rested the βωμός proper (i.e. the receptacle on which offerings were placed; it was possibly bowl-shaped, see on next line); the τοῖχοι would be sides of the altar, rather than a precinct-wall. This view does leave the way open for a solution of the linguistic problems of 63-4; on that consideration it is to be preferred to (i). It is still possible to retain the view that Call. is attempting to use expressions applicable both to the infant god making his altar and to human colonists

founding cities in order to stress the connection he has drawn between the two activities.

πήξε: cf. ἔπηξε (58).

63. κεράων: a Homeric form, *P* 521, γ 439, τ 566; again at *h.* 3. 102.

κεραούς: this adjective is used in Homer of animals (δ 85, Γ 24, etc.); likewise at *fr.* 23. 1, 67. 10, Theoc. *Id.* 1. 4, A.R. 2. 691, etc. Call. here varies the meaning slightly, to 'made with horns'; cf. Antipater Sid., *AP* 6. 118. 3: κεράων βίον.

πέριξ does not occur in Homer, but is found in Herodotus (4. 15, 5. 115), Attic tragedy (e.g. Eur. *El.* 448, 561), and frequently in A.R. (1. 1097 etc.). Adverbs in -ξ (e.g. ἐπιμίξ, εὐράξ) are very much at home in epic: see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 250, cf. ἐπιτάξ Aratus 380, Call. *fr.* 178. 9.

ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους: the expression is paradoxical. While ὑποβάλλεσθαι is certainly a technical term in building, it denotes the laying of foundations: e.g. θεμέλιον ὑπεβάλλετο . . . τυραννίδος Polybius 13. 6. 2, τὰ ὑποβληθέντα θεμέλια Epicurus, *ep.* 2 p. 38 Usener, ὁ πρῶτος ὑποβεβλημένος 'the first founder' Strabo 12. 3. 30, κρηπίδα τῶν ἐπαίων ὑποβάλλεσθαι Lucian, *Dem. Enc.* 9, ὁ οἰκίζων καὶ ὑποβαλλόμενος τὴν πόλιν Pollux 9. 6; similarly the noun ὑποβολή is used in the sense 'foundation'. Cf. θεμειλιά τε προβάλλοντο Ψ 255, θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενος *Ep. Hebr.* 6. 1 (cf. Plato, *Laus* 803 a). That such a verb should be used with τοίχους as its object is surprising; but the strangeness is paralleled by θεμειλία . . . ἐγείρειν, 'to erect foundations', in the next line. The double paradox rules out any question of tampering with the text or even of considering either problem in isolation from the other.

It is clear that the solution must lie in the manner of construction of the altar; attention has already been drawn to the careful choice of verbs in this passage—ὑφαίνει, ἔπηξε, ἔπλεκε. Any proposed solution of the problems of 63-4 must do justice to Callimachus' linguistic scrupulousness in 57-62, and, if possible, make coherent sense of the whole.

One passage which casts a flickering light on the construction of the altar occurs in Plutarch's discussion of the halcyon's nest (*de sollertia animalium* 35. 9 = *mor.* 983 e); the nest, he says, reminds him of the altar: τὸν κεράτινον βωμόν εἶδον ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καλουμένοις θεάμασιν ὑμνούμενον, ὅτι μήτε κόλλης δεόμενος μήτε τινὸς ἄλλου δεσμοῦ, διὰ μόνων τῶν δεξιῶν συμπέτηγε καὶ συνήρμοσται κεράτων. A little earlier, he had described how the halcyon builds its nest (*ibid.* 8): συλλέξασα γὰρ τὰς τῆς βελόνης ἀκάνθας συντίθησι καὶ συνδεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐγκαταπλέκουσα, τὰς μὲν εὐθείας, τὰς δὲ πλαγίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ στήμονι κρόκην ἐμβάλλουσα . . .

In the light of these passages, the verbs ὑφαίνει, ἔπηξε, and ἔπλεκε take on a new significance: Plutarch remarks on the external resemblance of the halcyon's nest and the horned altar; he compares the construction of the nest to the process of weaving. Callimachus speaks of 'weaving foundations' and of 'plaiting' the altar from horns. It

is difficult to resist the conclusion that both are drawing on a pre-Callimachean source. There are numerous other descriptions in ancient authors of the halcyon's nest: see D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, s.v. ἀλκυών. The account in Aelian (*HA* 9. 17) takes the weaving analogy further: συμπλέκουσα δὲ καὶ ἀθροίζουσα τὰς τῆς βελόνης ἀκάνθας, δεσμῶ τινι ἀπορρήτῳ τῆς εὐθημοσύνης περιλαμβάνει τὸ ποίημα. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ εὐθὺ κατέδησεν αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ἐπικαρσίας—ὕφαντικῆς ἐπιστήμονα γυναῖκα εἵποις ἂν τῷ στήμονι τὴν κρόκην ἐπιπλέκειν—στρογγύλον ἥσυχῃ τὸ ἔργον ἀποφαίνει καὶ κολπῶδες, οἷονεὶ πλέγμα κύρτου δημιουργοῦσα. (The relationship between Plutarch and Aelian in these passages is discussed by Richmond, *Chapters on Greek Fish-Lore*, 16–17. He concludes (45 ff.) that each drew independently from a 'zoological compendium' compiled after 30 B.C., but incorporating older material, and including much paradoxology. My argument entails the conclusion that a comparison between the halcyon's nest and the horned altar existed before Callimachus. Such a comparison would probably be post-Aristotelian, since neither discussion of the nest (*HA* 542^b, 616^a) by Aristotle mentions it, though it would have been most apposite.) If Apollo was thought to have proceeded in the same way, he would need first of all to set up vertical horns (or columns made by fitting together several horns); these would, in weaving terms, constitute the 'warp'. Across these he would then have to interweave horns horizontally, to form the 'woof' of the sides. In such an extraordinary structure, the uprights, being the basic framework which is put into position first of all, may be styled the *θεμελίαι*, hence Apollo could be said to have learnt *θεμελίαι ἐγείρειν*. In weaving the horizontal horns into the framework, he could, by the same token, be said to have 'laid walls' (or 'sides').

That such a topsy-turvy procedure could be represented as the model which humans emulate when building cities is a piece of baroque Callimachean humour on a par with Apollo's prophecies from the womb in *hymn* 4 (lines 88–98, 162–95); it is a useful reminder that Callimachus' *theologumena* are not to be read as serious theology.

τοίχους: the plural is rare in Homer, meaning 'sides of a ship' at *μ* 420*, *ο* 382 (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 22. 12*), 'house-walls' at *χ* 24* (cf. A.R. 3. 216*, 633*, Call. *fr.* 393. 2).

64. *ἔμαθεν*: the verb *μανθάνειν* is rare in Homer, and attested only in the strong aorist: *Z* 444, *ρ* 226, *σ* 362, *Batr.* 102; cf. A.R. 4. 1206, 1499, Call. *fr.* 257.

ἐγείρειν occurs in this *sedes* (but in a different sense) at *E* 517. This usage ('erect') does not seem to be attested previously in poetry, though it occurs as early as Hyperides, *fr.* 103 *ὑπερῶα ἐγείρειν*, and is frequently attested in later Greek, e.g. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 8. 96 *στοὰς ἐγείρας μεγάλας*, Lucian, *Alex.* 10 *νεῶν ἐγείρειν*, Cassius Dio 42. 12 *πύργους . . . ἐγείραντος*: cf. *ἀνεγείρειν* at *AP* 9. 693, 10. 119. 1. It may have been a colloquial expression (cf. *Ev. Jo.* 2. 19) which Call. exploited in order to achieve a surprise effect. The imitation by Paulus Silentarius, *Ambon* 128, combined with the deliberately paradoxical use of lan-

guage here, means that the conjecture *ἐρείδειν*, favoured by Schneider and others, may be safely ignored.

65–96. From Apollo's approval of the building of cities in general, Callimachus moves to the relationship between Apollo and the city of Cyrene in particular. He relates the migration, under Apollo's guidance and protection, of Battus, his own ancestor, to Cyrene, and his introduction of the cult of Apollo Carneius from Thera into Libya.

The construction of this major section is especially careful: its first line is balanced by its last, and indeed the first four lines (65–8) correspond closely to the last four (93–6); exactly half of the section's thirty-two lines take the form of an apostrophe to Apollo Carneius (69–84).

65. Φοῖβος . . . Βάττω: cf. *Βαττιάδαι Φοίβοιο* . . . 96; the bond between Apollo and the Battiadae thus both introduces and concludes the Cyrene section.

καί . . . : the threefold repetition of *καί* marks three distinct manifestations of Apollo's favour, the indication by means of the oracle of the site of the colony, the physical guidance during the migration (66), and Apollo's promise to the Battiadae (67–8).

βαθύγειον: another technical word introduced into epic by Call.; cf. note to 54. It occurs in Herodotus (4. 23), whose influence is considerable in this section, because of his extensive account of the foundation-legends of Cyrene (4. 150–65), and in Theophrastus (*HP* 4. 11. 9, cf. *CP* 2. 4. 10). Cf. *βαθυλήϊος* (v.l. at *Σ* 550, A.R. 1. 830, also in the epic fragment P.Oxy. 1794. 18, Powell, *Coll. Alex.* pp. 78–9).

The fertility of Cyrenaica is frequently mentioned: cf. Pindar, *P.* 4. 6 *καρποφόρου Λιβύας*, *P.* 9. 7 *πολυκαρποτάτας χθονός*, Arrian, *Indica* 43. 13, Strabo 17. 3. 21, Chamoux, *Cyrene*, 229 ff.

ἐμὴν πόλιν: the poet expects his readers to recognize that this denotes Cyrene, and to be aware (68, 71) of his own membership of the Battiad house. For *πόλις* in the sense of 'country' see Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 58.

ἔφρασε: this form occurs at *h. hom.* 4. 442, 5. 128. The use of *φράζειν* 'to indicate' a place is Homeric (e.g. *λ* 22, *Ψ* 138); it is doubly appropriate, since the verb is also used of the oracle giving its message (cf. LSJ s.v. 2a). Call. is presumably alluding to one of the oracles which instructed Battus to lead an expedition to Libya (*Hdt.* 4. 155, 156, 157). The initiative of Apollo is also emphasized in the Theran inscription relating the circumstances of the foundation, which, even if its authenticity is dubious, nevertheless preserves some genuine early traditions: *ἐπεὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτομάτιζεν Βάττω καὶ Θηραίοις ἀποικίξαι Κυράναν . . .* (*SEG* ix. 3. 24).

Βάττω: i.e. Aristoteles son of Polymnestus, the Theran aristocrat who was *oikist* of the colony of Cyrene, and who later took the title 'Battus', a native Libyan word for 'king' (*Hdt.* 4. 155): see further on 76 below. Call. uses this name here, rather than Aristoteles (as in 76) because the oracular responses addressed him as such (*Hdt.* loc. cit.).

66. Λιβύην: cf. δ 85*, ξ 295*, oracle quoted at Hdt. 4. 155. 3, line 2* (= Parke-Wormell no. 39).

Λιβύην ἐσιόντι: the phrase fits the move from the offshore island of Platea to Aziris/Azilis on the mainland of Libya proper (Hdt. 4. 157. 3) better than the subsequent migration six years later from Aziris to 'Apollo's Fountain', when the colonists were escorted by native guides (Hdt. 4. 158. 1); but Chamoux, 118 n. 3 connects this story (which is mentioned only by Call.) with the latter event.

κόραξ: cf. Hesiod, *fr.* 60. 1* M-W. Here the word is in apposition to Φοῖβος, as is shown by the verb ᾤμοσε (67). Gods frequently assume the form of birds in Homer, e.g. *H* 59, *K* 274, α 319, γ 371, ε 337. To lead the Cretans to Delphi, Apollo took the form of a dolphin (*h.hom.* 3. 400 ff.); for other examples of animals serving as guides in new countries see Frazer on Paus. 10. 6. 2 Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, i. 60, Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* (Paris, 1963), 77-9.

The raven is often associated with Apollo: see Furtwängler, 444. It was in the form of a raven that Aristee accompanied Apollo on his journeys (Hdt. 4. 15. 2). Apollo's assumed form was especially appropriate on this occasion, since ravens were thought to be able to distinguish between a prosperous and a barren country (Aristotle, *HA* 618^b11; cf. Aelian, *HA* 2. 48-9). It would seem that Call. is recording a local oral tradition, for ravens play a significant part in two other events in Libya: according to Heraclides Ponticus (*FGH* ii. 212) 4. 4, the appearance of a white raven signalled the fall of the monarchy at Cyrene, and Strabo 17. 1. 43 relates that Alexander was led to the oracle of Ammon through dust- and rain-storms by two ravens.

Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 4. 8. 47-9 'tu, ductor populi longe migrantis, Apollo, / cuius adhuc volucrum laeva cervice sedentem / respiciens blande felix Eumelus adorat...'.
 ἡγήσατο: frequent in Homer, e.g. *A* 71 (of guiding through unknown territory), *B* 867, etc.; cf. especially the verse-end ἡγήσατο λαῶν *O* 311 (the subject is Apollo), which Call. recalls but varies by using the equally Homeric construction of dative of person (e.g. *η* 22, cf. *A* 71); Lloyd-Jones points out that this suits the context better: the raven leads the way for the people, rather than being the leader of the people.

Λάω: the dative singular is a Homeric rarity, *A* 226, *E* 600*. On the form λαός see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 20.
 67. δεξιός: 'appearing on the right', and hence 'of good omen', used of birds at *K* 274, *N* 821, *Ω* 294, ο 160, etc.

οἰκιστήρι is Bentley's emendation for the οἰκιστήρ of the manuscripts, removing the metrical anomaly of an uncorrected καί before ᾤμοσε, and the difficulty of κόραξ being in apposition with οἰκιστήρ. Admittedly Apollo was worshipped as οἰκιστής at Aegina (Wernicke, 62) and Cyzicus (Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 27. 5, cited by Lombardo, 69); but the term οἰκιστήρ was used specifically of Battus in the original foundation-oracle quoted by Hdt. 4. 153. 3 Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθε: ἀναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα. Cf. Pindar,

Py. 4. 5-6... ἱέρα | χρῆσεν, οἰκιστήρα Βάττον καρποφόρον Λιβύας. In fact, οἰκιστήρ is an official term used in Dorian states, and corresponding to the Attic οἰκιστής: e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* 7. 30 (of Tlepolemus, founder of Ialysus); *Py.* 1. 31 (of Hieron, founder of Aetna); see further Ernst Fraenkel, *Nomina agentis*, i. 109, Pasquali, *Glotta* 5 (1914), 199, 201. This corresponds to the alternation in epic between forms in -της and in -τηρ, for which see F. S. Lehrs's edition of Oppian (Paris, 1846), vi f., H. J. O. Schmidt, *de elocutione Oppiani Aphameensis*, 8, Schmitt, *Nominalbildung*, 78.

ᾤμοσε: the form occurs at *T* 127*, ξ 331, *h.hom.* 5. 26. Call. may be alluding to the oracle mentioned by Hdt. 4. 163. 2 (Parke-Wormell no. 70) promising the Battiads royal power at Cyrene for eight generations: ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὁκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοὶ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης... It is also possible that he is referring to another oracle no longer extant: the city and royal family of Cyrene seem to have consulted the oracle frequently, and that there were oracles not mentioned by Herodotus is shown by Menocles of Barca (*FGH* 270), *fr.* 6, where an oracle is quoted which would have been apposite at the point when the island settlement failed (cf. Hdt. 4. 157), but is radically different from that cited by Herodotus.

τείχεα: cf. τὸ τεῖχος in 15, with note, and 94 below.

δώσειν: cf. διδοῖ in the oracle cited above; such expressions are common in oracular responses, as is pointed out by Von der Mühlh, *MH* 15 (1958), 4-5, in his valuable discussion of this passage.

68. ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν: 'the kings of our family', i.e. of the Battiad house, of which Call. was a member (scholia to 65, *ep.* 21, Pfeiffer, *testimonia*, 4, 6); he stresses his kinship again in 71. The phrase is firmly anchored in the context of the first Battus (67, 76) and the remote past: that a scholar who was also a member of an old royal family should show a lively interest in events which took place several centuries before his own day should not occasion any surprise. There is neither need nor justification for seeing here any contemporary reference to the Ptolemies, as being in some sense successors to the Battiads, as do the scholiasts and some modern commentators, notably Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* ii. 79-80, and Herter, *RE* suppl. vol. v, 439. Against this latter view, see Von der Mühlh, *MH* 15 (1958), 1-10, Fraser *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 919 n. 308.

εὖορκος: previously attested in epic at Hes. *Works* 190, 285, oracle quoted at Hdt. 6. 86 γ, lines 3, 7 (= Parke-Wormell no. 35). Compounds in -ορκος are infrequent in epic (ἐπίορκος *T* 264), but cf. ἐνορκος Soph. *Phil.* 72, 811, ἐξορκος Pindar, *Ol.* 13. 99, ψεύδορκος Eur. *Medea* 1392.

Again the wording suggests that an ancient oracle was fulfilled, and could well allude to the prophecy of eight generations of Battiad monarchy (Hdt. 4. 163-4 = Parke-Wormell no. 70): cf. especially the final sentence of that account, Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νυν εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωντοῦ. It is very normal

when a prophecy is quoted to stress the veracity of its source: see for instance Aesch. *Cho.* 559, *Eum.* 615, *fr.* 350. 5, Eur. *Or.* 364. For the form of this sentence, in which a particular event is explained by reference to the deity's constant attitude, cf. *h.* 3. 258 'Εφέσου γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ τόξα πρόκειται (with Bornmann's note), *h.* 4. 26 θεὸς δ' αἰεὶ ἀστυφελικτός, *h.* 1. 9. There is no need to assume a covert allusion to contemporary political events.

Ἀπόλλων: note the chiasmic pattern produced by the two quatrains (65–8 and 93–6) at either end of the Cyrene section:

Φοῖβος . . . Βάττω (65) . . . Ἀπόλλων (68)
Ἀπόλλων (93) . . . Βαττιάδαι Φοίβοιο (96)

The subject of both quatrains is Apollo's patronage of the Battiads and their city.

69. ὦπολλον: the vocative with *ō* is climactic; on such forms of address see Giangrande, *CQ* (1968), 52–9; for similar cases in Theocritus see *Eranos* 71 (1973), 52–67, especially 54–5. Here the vocative introduces a lengthy apostrophe (69–84): apostrophe to the deity is a regular element of the hymnic style (Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 143). The combination of anaphora, polyptoton, and etymological pun in the sequence Ἀπόλλων (68) | ὦπολλον πολλοί . . . (69) | πολλοί . . . πούλυ is remarkable: cf. Norden, 149 ff. for such anaphora in hymns.

πολλοί: as often, Call. sets himself apart from the many; the *Priamel* heightens the effect of *Καρνεῖον*, which is delayed until the end of the sentence.

Βοηδρόμιον καλέουσι: cf. *καλέουσι βοηδόον* *h.* 3. 22; this clear example of *Selbstvariation* guarantees the transmitted text in both places.

Βοηδρόμιον: a widely attested title of Apollo; see Wernicke, 45, Furtwängler, 436 f., Owen, *Euripides: Ion*, xiv f. Furtwängler, 437 sees similarities between the Attic celebrations of the Boedromia and the Carneia at Cyrene; but his attractive suggestion that the celebrations were 'ungefähr gleichzeitig' possibly fails to take full account of the diversity of Greek calendars (for which see Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 32 f.).

70. Κλάριον: 'of Claros', a famous cult-centre of Apollo, near Colophon. Epigraphic evidence shows that the oracle there was consulted far more frequently than the sparse literary references would suggest. Recent excavations have confirmed that this oracle, which was of great antiquity, enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity in the 3rd century B.C.: see Parke, *Greek Oracles*, 122, 138.

πάντη δέ τοι οὔνομα πούλυ: a variation of *h.hom.* 3. 82 πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολυνύμμος ἔσται. Cf. von Jan, 101 f. As well as alluding to Apollo's *πολυωνυμία* (cf. *h.* 3. 7), which is amply illustrated by the catalogue of ἐπικλήσεις in Wernicke, 41–72, Call. plays with the etymology of Ἀπόλλων from πολλ-: for such derivations see Wernicke, 2.

οὔνομα: the less common form in Homer (e.g. ζ 194*, ι 355*), but normal in Call., who uses it 17 times, whereas *ὄνομα* is found only at *ep.* 15. 2; similarly A.R. has *οὔνομα* 18 times, *ὄνομα* only once.

πούλυ: once only in Homer, at τ 387* (v.l. *πολλόν*). Here it is used collectively, 'many a name'; cf. *fr.* 7. 14. The form recurs at *h.* 3. 55, 163, etc., A.R. 2. 351, 902.

71. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ . . .: a frequent hymnal formula (e.g. *h.hom.* 3. 177) normally used at the end of a hymn (cf. Call. *fr.* 112. 9); cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 83 (1963), 92–3. It can also be used in other contexts, e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 7. 131.

Καρνεῖον: for the cult of Apollo Carneius see Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 332, Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 73 ff., Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 131 ff., Pasquali, *QC* 47 ff.

ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὔτω: cf. α 387 . . . ὁ τοι γενεῇ πατρώϊον ἔστιν. *πατρώϊος* can denote anything inherited from one's father or forefathers, whether objects (*B* 46), property (*Y* 391), friends (*Z* 215), or even, paradoxically, poverty (Call. *fr.* 254. 1); a god is *πατρώϊος* because one's ancestors worshipped him (e.g. A.R. 1. 410). So here Call. invokes Apollo as *Καρνεῖος* not merely because he is a Cyrenean (as Herter suggests, *RE* suppl. v. 439) but because he is a Battiad, and his ancestor introduced the cult of Apollo Carneius into Libya (75 ff.). He is, moreover, alluding to Pindar's lines on the Carneia at Cyrene (*P.* 5. 72–81): . . . τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γάρυει | ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος, | ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι | ἱκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι, | ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν | πολύθυτον ἔρανον ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι, | Ἀπολλων, τεῶ, | *Καρνήϊ*, ἐν δαίτῃ σεβίζομεν | Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν.

72. Σπάρτη: the cult of Apollo Carneius seems to have originated in Laconia, and to antedate the Dorian invasion (Wide, 85); it subsequently spread to a number of Dorian states (Wide, 86, Wernicke, 54–6). The Spartan celebrations of the Carneia were important (cf. Hdt. 7. 206) and internationally famous (Eur. *Alc.* 449). The festival 'afforded an important stimulus to the national culture, fostering the arts of music and song. The great names of Terpander, Thaletas, and Alkman are associated with it' (Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 260–1). For the ties of sentiment between Cyrene and Sparta see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* i. 786.

†τόδε: commentators and editors have generally agreed that this word is unsound. (Schneider, *more suo*, posited a lacuna; but the precise construction of this section makes this extremely unlikely: see p. 63 above.) The only sense which can be extracted from the existing text is: 'Sparta—this was your first seat, then Thera your second, the city of Cyrene your third.' Leaving aside the clumsiness of such a sentence, *τόδε* might possibly be tolerated (with some misgivings) if, and only if, the hymn were set in Sparta; for *ὅδε* designates 'what is nearer, as opp. to what is more remote'; it 'refers . . . to what is present, to what can be seen or pointed out' (LSJ s.v.). This is not a defensible thesis, for the subject of this section is Cyrene, and a Spartan shrine could not in this context be referred to in terms appropriate only to something immediately present.

However, the corruption is more easily diagnosed than cured. Kaibel's τὸ δῆ is merely first aid, and is unsupported by the *usus*

auctoris: Pfeiffer's index shows no example of the article + δῆ, and it is normal for the particle to follow, not to precede, the word it emphasizes. Ernesti's τό γε, taking the phrase as adverbial, is possible but unattractive. Meineke's πολὺ recalls Homeric usage (cf. also *h.* 4. 285) but over-emphasizes Sparta at the expense of Cyrene. Ruhnken's πέλε would supply a welcome verb; but if ἐδεθλον is taken as 'shrine', 'precinct', rather than simply 'seat' (see below), what is needed is an active verb, with Σπάρτη as its subject, ἐδεθλον as its direct, and τοι its indirect object: cf. the structure of 98 below, Isyllus 27-8. Kuiper suggested τίθει (cf. θῆκε at 78 below) or δέμε (a form not attested in Call. or A.R., but cf. 62, 77). Surely, however, an aorist is needed, and I therefore tentatively propose πόρε.

πρώτιστον: cf. 98 below, *h.* 1. 36; for the form see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 261.

ἐδεθλον: cf. ἐδέθλια, 62 above, with note. As well as the general meaning 'seat', ἐδεθλον has the specific sense of the 'shrine' or 'precinct' of a god: cf. Antimachus, *fr.* 35* Wyss, A.R. 4. 331*, *SIG* 364. 21 (Ephesus, 3rd c. B.C.), Kaibel, *EG* 978. 9* (Philae, imperial period). This is probably the sense here also, as the passage contains several semi-technical religious terms (e.g. 77-8); this significance would strengthen the need for an active verb.

73. Θήρη: for the cult of Apollo Carneius at Thera see Hiller von Gärtringen, *Thera: Untersuchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1895-98*, i. 275-83.

γε μὲν is normally adversative (see Gow on Theoc. *Id.* 4. 60), but sometimes progressive (as at *h.* 3. 188, Theoc. *Id.* 25. 127, A.R. 4. 1466), or even climactic, as here: cf. Aratus 1056, Theoc. *Id.* 1. 95, Paulus Silentiarius, *Hag. Soph.* 715, 881.

ἄστν Κυρήνης: a type of expression found in Homer, e.g. ἄστν Ζελεΐης Δ 103 (line-ending); cf. *E* 281, Φ 128, σ 1, χ 223. Pindar's ἄστν . . . Κυράνας (*Py.* 4. 260), Κυράνας . . . πόλιν (*Py.* 5. 81) may have been influential here, as Call.'s usual practice is to write ἄστν with the ethnic adjective, as at *h.* 4. 287: see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 75. 74; Lloyd-Jones points out that Call. possibly uses the phrase in the sense 'the city of Cyrene (the nymph)'.

Κυρήνης: the first vowel is short here and at 94 below, *ep.* 20. 5, 21. 2, long at *h.* 3. 206, *ep.* 13. 2. Both quantities are attested elsewhere: short at Hesiod, *fr.* 215 M-W, Pindar, *Py.* 4. 260, 5. 81, 9. 32; long at Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1328, *Thesm.* 98, Hermesianax 7. 95 Powell, A.R. 2. 500, Eratosthenes 35. 18 Powell, Alexis, *fr.* 36. 3, Hermippus, *fr.* 63. 4.

74. ἐκ . . . σε Σπάρτης: the position of the pronoun here (for which cf. *h.* 1. 10, Pfeiffer on *fr.* 1. 22) exemplifies the tendency of enclitics to occupy second place in the clause: see Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytos*, p. 157, citing Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 1-104.

ἐκτον γένος: the settlement of the island of Calliste, subsequently named Thera, was led by the Minyan aristocrat Theras, whose great-grandfather was Polyneices (Hdt. 4. 147). Call. is probably

alluding again to the controversial passage of Pindar, *Py.* 5. 72-5 (quoted on 71 above), and accounting for the Theban connection with Thera which it seems to attest.

The use of γένος here is a conflation of the senses 'generation' (γ 245 etc.) and 'offspring' (I 538 etc.).

For the possible word-play of ἐκ . . . ἐκτον cf. Richardson on *h. hom.* 2. 51. 2.

Οιδιπόδασ: cf. Ψ 679*, Hesiod, *Works* 163*, *fr.* 193. 4* M-W. The pre-Dorian nature of the cult of Apollo Carneius (mentioned by Paus. 3. 13. 3) is stressed by Wide, 85 ff.

75. Θηραίων ἐς ἀπόκτισιν: high-flown language in the epic style, contrasting with Pindar's Θήρανδε (*Py.* 5. 75). ἀπόκτισις is attested only here and at Dionysius Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1. 49. 54, 2. 36, and is usually taken as a Callimachean coinage: see Bredau, 19, Schmitt, 72 n. 7, and cf. Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* i. 212, 'orationem relevare conatur novo vocabulo: nam quam ceteri mortales ἀποικίαν dicere solent, magis epice nunc vocat ἀπόκτισιν'. Cahen, *Callimaque*, 503-4 dissents; but the recurrence of the word in an author as consciously literary as Dionysius is not a strong argument against Callimachean creation. For the formation, as if from a verb ἀποκτίζειν equivalent in sense to ἀποικίζειν, cf. ἀνάκτισις (Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 15. 11. 6) from ἀνακτίζειν.

Θηραίων . . . Θήρης: for the use of cognate words in close proximity cf. 34, 40-1, 63, 83, 106, and other examples listed by Lapp, 66-7.

76. οἶλος Ἀριστοτέλης: cf. οἶλος Ἄρης *E* 461, οἶλος ἔρως A.R. 3. 297, 1078. οἶλος is a word with a wide range of meanings in Homer (cf. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, i. 173, ii. 141): 'whole', 'entire' (ρ 343, ω 118), 'destructive' (B 6 etc.), 'woolly', 'thick', 'curly' (K 134 etc.), 'frequent' (οἶλον adverbially, P 756). Call. studiously reproduces all these various uses in his poems: see von Jan, 8 ff., Pasquali, *QC* 54 ff., Cahen, *Callimaque*, 527-8. Here, as the scholiasts saw (οἶλος δὲ ὁ ὅλης, ὡς πρὸς τὴν φωνήν), the most appropriate sense is 'whole' (i.e. ὅλος), with some reference to the legend related in Hdt. 4. 155 and elsewhere. According to this, a Theraean named Battus consulted the oracle for advice on how to cure his stammer; he was ordered to found a colony in Libya, and miraculously recovered his powers of speech when confronted by a lion (the last detail is not mentioned in Herodotus, but lies behind Pindar, *Py.* 5. 57 ff.; cf. scholia to 65 above, Paus. 10. 15. 7). This story was already viewed with scepticism by Herodotus, who noted that Βάττος was the Libyan word for 'king';¹ whereas the story clearly depends on a supposed connection with βατταρίζω 'to stammer'.

In his Λιβυκαὶ ἱστορίαι Menocles of Barca (? 2nd c. B.C.), who, like Callimachus of Cyrene, must have had access to genuine local

¹ Pasquali's objection (*QC* 109) that Herodotus knew no foreign languages is invalid: his Cyrenean informants could have told him the meaning of one Libyan word (cf. Chamoux, 97-8); besides, U. Paradisi (*Parola del Passato* 17 (1962), 201-5) shows that the word ζεγέριες mentioned by Herodotus still exists in the Berber dialect spoken at Augila.

traditions, dismissed the stammer-story as μυθικός, and offered a more rationalistic account of factional strife in Thera, leading to the exile of the defeated party (*FGrH* 270 fr. 6). By his emphatic use of οἶλος here Callimachus also is rejecting the old 'légende populaire qui s'est imposée, bon gré mal gré, à la dynastie des Battiades' (Chamoux, 98). He is not saying, as previous commentators have contended, that on reaching Libya Battus was made whole and lost his stammer. On the contrary, the extremely emphatic word order ἐκ . . . Θήρης | οἶλος Ἀριστοτέλης conveys his insistence that even *when he left Thera* the oikist, whom he here pointedly calls 'Aristoteles', not 'Battus' (that is, he uses his original name, not his later title), was sound in wind and limb. It is in no way surprising that Callimachus, who was a fastidious aristocrat as well as a scrupulous scholar, should repudiate a folk-tale which was so discreditable to his own distant ancestor. Not only did the lion story impute cowardice to Aristoteles, but stammering itself had extremely disreputable connotations in the ancient world: see Headlam on Herodas 2. 75-6, citing much evidence, including the telling entry in Hesychius, Βάταλος· καταπύγων καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, κίναδος, ἔκλυτος. (Cf. the insistence of Acesander, *FGrH* 469 fr. 6, that the stammer was not congenital, and that Battus was a fine orator.) For a discussion of the legend, with particular reference to the part played by the oracle, see Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, i. 73 ff.

Ἀσβυστίδι . . . γαίη: cf. Ἀχαιίδα γαίαν φ 107, Θυνίδι γαίῃ A.R. 2. 460. Lycophron 895, narrating another foundation-legend of Cyrene, calls the original inhabitants Ἀσβύσται, and elsewhere Call. uses Ἀσβύστις as a virtual synonym of 'Cyrenean' (fr. 37. 1, 384. 6). Hdt. 4. 170 describes the Asbystae as an inland tribe, occupying the immediate hinterland of Cyrene; presumably they were displaced by the Greek settlement and subsequent expansion.

πάρθετο: apocope is frequent with this verb (e.g. α 192, β 237, δ 66, A.R. 4. 346); cf. παρπέταται ep. 31. 6. παρατίθεσθαι is used of depositing articles with someone for safe keeping (e.g. Hdt. 6. 86 β a), or of entrusting a person to someone's protection (e.g. A.R. 4. 346). Cf. παρακάθετο (A.R. 2. 504), of Apollo entrusting the nymph Cyrene to the nymphs of Libya. This usage appears only embryonically in Homer, as at β 237, γ 74 = ι 255.

77. δέιμε: cf. note on 62 above.

ἀνάκτορον: used of Apollo's temple at Delphi (Eur. *Ion* 55), a temple of Thetis, (Eur. *Andr.* 43, 117), the temple of Demeter at Eleusis (Hdt. 9. 65, Antagoras, *AP* 9. 147 = Gow-Page, *HE* 146, q.v.), of Artemis (Damagetus, *AP* 6. 277), the church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (Marianos, *AP* 9. 657, who imitates and elaborates on the word-play with ὁ ἄνα in 79). For a description of the Ἀπολλωνίειον at Cyrene see Chamoux, 303 ff.

πόλη: the form occurs only once in Homer, at Γ 50; cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 218. Call. uses the alternative form πόλει at 94. Call.'s language here and elsewhere in the Cyrene section (65, 89, 94-5) suggests that he accepted the view that there was an earlier settlement

on the site of Cyrene, which Battus enlarged and improved: cf. Pindar, *Py.* 5. 87-93, and see further on 89 below.

78. τελεσφορίην: this and A.R. 1. 917 (plural; of the mysteries of Samothrace)-are the first certain occurrences of the word, though it has been conjectured at fr. 85. 13 by Lobel; cf. also *h.* 6. 129 with Pfeiffer's apparatus. Its formation from the Homeric adjective τελεσφόρος (*T* 32 etc.) is paralleled by φαεσφορίη from φαεσφόρος (*h.* 3. 11). New formations in -ίη are frequent in Hellenistic poetry: for Callimachus see Bredau, 54 ff., Schmitt, 33-8; for A.R. and later epic poets see Giangrande, *CR* 21 (1971), 354.

In Homer τελεσφόρος (meaning 'bringing to completion', in a number of senses: see Merry on δ 86) is an epithet of ἐνιαυτός: hence the combination here of the noun τελεσφορίη formed from it with the adjective ἐπετήσιος, which is ἀπαξ in Homer, is particularly elegant. In this term the specifically religious usage of τέλος as a service or offering owed to a god (LSJ s.v. 6; cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 105) is clearly important; moreover, τελεσφόρος and its cognates were technical terms of Cyrenean religion: e.g. ἱερεὺς τελεσφόρος *CIG* 5145 = Vitali, *Fonti* 70, Καρνεῖα τελεσφορήσαντα *SEG* ix. 65 = Vitali, 98. For conjectures on its precise significance see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 918 n. 304 (τελεσφόροι 'were evidently responsible for the sacrifice of bulls'), Chamoux, 310; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin, 1972), 280 n. 24, is sensibly non-committal. The scholia offer simply ἐορτήν, θυσίαν.

ἐπετήσιον: the adjective occurs only once in Homer, in the same *sedes* as here, in the description of the succession of fruit in the gardens of Alcinous (η 117-21): τῶν οὐ ποτε καρπὸς ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ἀπολείπει | χεῖματος οὐδὲ θέρεως, ἐπετήσιος· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ | Ζεφυρίη πνέουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἀλλὰ δὲ πέσσει. | ὄγχην ἐπ' ὄγχην γηράσκει, μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μῆλῳ, | αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σταφυλῇ σταφυλῇ, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ. Call. is clearly alluding to these lines here (see on 82, 83 below). Thus ἐπετήσιος is not merely a heightened synonym of ἐπέτειος, meaning 'annual'; it conveys the notion, developed in 80-4, that the worship of Apollo as established by Battus was not limited to one annual festival, but extended throughout the whole year, with an unbroken series of sacrifices. (It is curious that A.R.'s account of the resettlement of the nymph Cyrene in Libya, 2. 500 ff., occurs in the context of an αἴτιον of the Etesian winds, ἐτήσιοι, 2. 498-527.)

ἢ ἐν: the same phrase and hiatus occur at A.R. 2. 1016. Note the variation ἐν (77) . . . ἐνί, for which cf. *A* 30 etc.

πολλοί | . . . ταῦροι: cf. Pindar, *Py.* 5. 77 πολύθυτον ἔρανον. That these are not mere poetic exaggerations is shown by a Cyrenean inscription of the fourth century which records the sacrifice of 120 oxen to Artemis: see Gallavotti, *Maia* 15 (1963), 454-5.

79. ὑστάτιον: Homer has ὑστάτιος three times, as an equivalent of ὑστατος. There are numerous examples in epic of such alternation of forms in -ος and -ιος, e.g. πάννυχος (*A* 551 etc.) | παννύχιος (*B* 2 etc.); hence πανήμερος (*A* 472 etc.) is varied by πανήμερος (Call. *h.* 4. 261, probably from early epic: see Schmitt, 9 n. 8); δμούριος (Call.

fr. 552, A.R. 3. 1095) varies *δμουρος*. On the analogy of *υστάτιος* Call. has *πανυστάτιος* (h. 5. 54) and *μεσσήτιος* (h. 3. 78) for the Homeric *πανύστατος* and *μέσσητος*: cf. Schmitt, 163. Homer uses the word both in the local ('hindmost', O 634) and the temporal (ι 14) senses; here Call. conflates these two usages, since *υστάτιον* functions both as an adverb ('for the last time'; cf. Θ 353) and as an adjective qualifying *ισχίον*.

πίπτουσιν ...: normally, the victim was first stunned, which caused it to collapse; its head was then held up by attendants so that the officiant could slit its throat, as at γ 445-54. Cf. Legrand, 'Sacrificium', in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, vol. 4², pp. 956-73, esp. 968.

ισχίον: the 'haunch' of an animal at Θ 340, Υ 170.

ὦ ἄνα: cf. h. 1. 8*. The vocative form *ἄνα* occurs three times in Homer, *Iliad*, and *Odyssey*, always of Zeus (Γ 351, Π 233, ρ 354); *ὦ ἄνα* is used of Apollo at h.hom. 3. 179, 526. Call. has the vocative form *ἄναξ* six times (as at 113 below), *ἄνα* five times.

ταῦροι: note the assonance of the line-ending *πολλοί* (78) ... *ταῦροι* ... *βωμοί* (80); the effect is reinforced by the strong break after the bucolic caesura in all three lines. The bull was of course the most expensive and splendid sacrificial victim: see Headlam on Herodas 4. 16.

80. *πολύλλιτε*: the archetype read *πολύλλιτε*, unmetrically; the necessary correction to *πολύλλιτε* seems to have been made independently by the writers of MS. B (Georgius Cretensis, according to Pfeiffer, vol. ii, p. lxxi) and of the 15th-c. apograph η (see Smiley, CQ 15 (1921), 69): the correction was printed by Lascaris in the *editio princeps* (? 1496), and this may be evidence for his use of manuscripts of the η group (see Pfeiffer, vol. ii, pp. lxi-ii). *πολύλλιστος* recurs at h. 4. 316* (of Delos), *Paeon in Aesculapium* (Powell, p. 137), 11, Simmias, fr. 4 Powell (v.l.), Euphorion, P.Oxy. 2525. 12, *Orph. h.* 11. 4, Manetho 6. 741, Nonnus, *Par.* 16. 97. It is often taken (e.g. by Loebe, i. 14, Bredau, 45, LSJ s.v., and Schmitt, 61 n. 17) as a mere substitute, coined *metri causa*, for the Homeric *πολύλλιστος*. However, *πολύλλιστος* has an almost gerundive sense at ε 445 (cf. *τρίλλιστος* Θ 488); the usage attested at Bacch. 10. 41 (of an altar) and restored at h.hom. 2. 28, 3. 347 (of temples) 'the site of many prayers', is divergent, and Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* i. 189 argues that *πολύλλιστος* is an implicit correction of it. Compound adjectives with the prefix *πολυ-* are numerous in Call.: see Bredau, 16-17, Cahen, *Callimaque*, 504, Schmitt, 134. The other component is almost invariably substantival, here *λιταί*, as argued by Kuiper, loc. cit., and Hiersche (cited, and rejected, by Schmitt, 61-2): cf. *πολύβωμος*, *πολύπτολις*, *πουλυκτέανος*. The apparent doublet *ἄλλιστος*, Crinagoras, *AP* 7. 643 (= Gow-Page, *Garland* 1875, with note), conjectured at Euphorion, fr. 98. 4 Powell / *ἄλλιστος*, *Ep. Adesp.* 6. 5 (Powell, p. 80), affords no sure evidence, since in the latter case both the reading and the date of the fragment are uncertain.

βωμοί: the plural is literal, as there were several altars of Apollo at Cyrene; see Chamoux, 309, Vickers, *Archaeological Reports for 1971-2*, 33.

81. *ἄνθεα* ...: Cyrenaica was famous for the abundance of its flowers, and for the quality of their perfume; cf. Theophrastus, *HP* 6. 6. 4. This passage echoes *Cypria*, fr. 4. 1 ff. Allen *εἶματα μὲν χροῖ ἔστο τά οἱ Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὠραι | ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινούσιν | οἷα φοροῦσ'* Ὠραι, ἐν τε κρόκῳ ἐν θ' ὑακίνθῳ ...

φορέουσιν: Call. varies the form and subject of *φοροῦσ'* in the *Cypria* passage; here it is not the Horae, but the altars which 'wear' the flowers offered by the Horae, 'wie man ein Gewand *φορεῖ*' (Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* ii. 85).

εἶαρ: this form of the noun does not occur in Homer, but cf. the adjective *εἰαρινός* (B 89 etc.); it recurs at Theoc. *Id.* 7. 97, 12. 30, etc.

τόσσα: relative, as at 94, h. 4. 256; cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 232. (Conversely, a relative is used as demonstrative at h. 3. 18.) This usage seems akin to the Homeric use of the article as a relative, on which see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* ii. 166-7; it is found also at Pindar, *Nem.* 4. 4-5, Bacch. 1. 37, 15. 11.

Ὠραι: the personified seasons of the year are merely door-keepers of heaven in the *Iliad* (E 749 etc.), but later attend Aphrodite (*Cypria*, fr. 4 quoted above, h.hom. 6. 5 ff.). They are frequently associated with flowers (ibid., also Hes. *Works* 75, Pindar, *Ol.* 13. 17), especially in their more restricted role of spring-goddesses: see Gow on Theoc. *Id.* 1. 150. For Apollo's connections with the Horae see Furtwängler, 423 ff., Wernicke, 38-9; Apollo is called *ὠρομέδων* (CQ 21 (1971), 142) and *ὠρίτης* (Lycophron 352). At Cyrene a shrine of the Horae stood near the entrance to the sanctuary of Apollo (Chamoux, 268, 364).

82. *ἀγινεῦσι*: a conflation of two epic usages, 'gather' (Ω 784) and 'offer sacrificially' (h.hom. 3. 57, 249, 260, 366).

ζεφύρου ...: cf. η 119 (quoted on 78 above), and the description of Elysium at δ 566-8 *οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος, | ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύρουιο λυγρὸ πνεύοντος ἀήτας | Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίστην ἀναψύχων ἀνθρώπους*.

πνεύοντος ἔερσην: the phrase may be modelled on *πνεύοντος ἀήτας* in the passage just quoted (where *ἀήτας* is of course governed by *ἀνίστην*), but can also be justified from *μένεα πνεύοντες* (B 536 etc.), a usage which was much extended by later poets (see LSJ s.v. *πνέω*, V).

ἔερσην: the verse-end is the regular *sedes* for this word in Homer. *ἔερση* (cognate with Sanskrit *varshá* = 'rain') can denote either dew or rain (e.g. A 53, E 351), and both forms of moisture are relevant here: cf. ν 245. For rainfall at Cyrene cf. Hdt. 4. 158 *ἐνθαῦτα ... ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται*, Pindar, *Pg.* 4. 53 *κελαϊνεφῶν πεδίων*, Chamoux, 16.

83. *χειμάτι*: emphatic; at Cyrene, flowers are offered to Apollo even at the time of year when, in normal Mediterranean conditions, they are scarcest.

κρόκον: 'saffron', see Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit*, 173. It

flowers in the winter (κρόκος εἶαρι μύων, Nicander, *fr.* 74. 56) and flourished in the Cyrene region (Theophrastus, *HP* 4. 3. 1, Synesius, *ep.* 134 c Hercher). The Cyrenean saffron was particularly esteemed for its fragrance (Theophrastus, *HP* 6. 6. 5).

ἀεί . . . ἀέναον: see notes on 36 and 75.

ἀέναον πῦρ: in Homer, ὕδαρ' ἀενάοντα (ν 109) is ἀπαξ; later, the forms ἀενάων|ἀεναός coexist (e.g. Hes. *Works* 550, 595). For this metaphorical use cf. ἀενάου πυρός (of Zeus' thunderbolts), Pindar, *Py.* 1. 6, ἀεναούς | ἐν τραπέζαις (of entertainment at public expense), *Nem.* 11. 8, ἀέναον γέρας Isyllus 11. Since a spring or river which did not dry up in summer was in itself remarkable (cf. Giangrande, *Erano* 71 (1973), 68–73), the metaphor is striking and forceful when applied to the no less remarkable phenomenon of the perpetual sacrificial fire. Call. is of course varying the stock epic phrase ἀκάματον πῦρ which occurs frequently, as here, at the verse-end (e.g. *E* 4). Cf. *Orph. h.* 84 (to Hestia) 2 . . . ἡ μέσον οἶκον ἔχεις πυρός ἀεναόιο, and Claudian (?), *AP* 1. 19. 1 (to Christ) ὦ πυρός ἀεναόιο σοφὴν ὠδὴν φυλάσσων. The sense is that sacrifices follow one another in a constant series, not that there was at Cyrene a special rite of perpetual fire: cf. Chamoux, 310 n. 3.

84. χθιζόν: used in a normal adjectival manner, as at *N* 745.

περιβόσκειται: almost certainly a Callimachean coinage. No close parallel exists in Homer, though commentators have adduced ξ 477 σακέεσσι περιτρέφετο κρύσταλλος for the form, and *h.hom.* 4. 238 ἀνθρακὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει for the sense. The paradoxical nature of the expression is well summed up by Pasquali, *QC* 61: 'elegantia huius loci in eo posita est, quod ignis iam non vorat, sed cinere voratur.' For a similar paradox cf. *h.* 3. 125 κτήνέα φιν λομὸς καταβόσκειται (where, as an additional twist, λομὸς is homophonic with λιμός). The simple verb βόσκεισθαι is Homeric (*M* 128 etc.), and the compound ἐπιβόσκεισθαι occurs at *Batrach.* 54, Nicander, *Ther.* 68, 430, and possibly at Moschus, *Eur.* 82 (see Bühler's commentary, pp. 127–8); περιβόσκειται itself recurs at Nicander, *Alex.* 391, *Ther.* 611*. ἀνθρακα: Homer has ἀνθρακὴ (*I* 213, *h.hom.* 4. 140, 238); ἀνθραξ is found at Aratus 985, 1041.

τέφρη: cf. Σ 25*, Ψ 251*.

85. ἦ ῥ': this combination of particles is used both affirmatively and interrogatively in Homer (Denniston, 284). In Call. it is normally interrogative (e.g. *h.* 4. 83, 114; *ep.* 13. 1, 30. 3, 41. 3, 61. 3: cf. A.R. 2. 246, 3. 558, Theoc. *Id.* 1. 98, 2. 158, 3. 7, 4. 1, 53, 58, 18. 10–11), and a case could be made for punctuating this sentence as a question (to which 93 ff. would be the answer), though the sense would scarcely be affected. (Similarly Theoc. *Id.* 2. 6 could be punctuated either as a question or as a statement.) The presence of the emphatic adverb μέγα (cf. πολλοί in *I* 183) possibly tells in favour of the affirmative use, for which cf. A.R. 4. 739, Theoc. *Id.* 2. 114, 3. 15, 25. 40, and esp. *ep.* 21. 4.

ἐχάρη: a Homeric aorist (*I* 23 etc.); cf. Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 399. ἐχάρη μέγα is a Homeric expression (*I* 76 = *H* 54); cf. *h.* 3. 44, *fr.* 112. 8.

Note that Call. now reverts to the *Er-Stil* to describe the distant events of the first Carneia on Libyan soil (though he relates the even more distant episode of the *Pythoktonia* in the *Du-Stil*, 97–106).

For the motif of Apollo's joy as he watches his own festival cf. *A* 474, *h.hom.* 3. 146 ff., Pindar, *Py.* 10. 35–6. Call. is fond of describing ritual dances: cf. the dance of the Curetes (*h.* 1. 51 ff.), the rites of Artemis at Ephesus (*h.* 3. 237 ff.), and the *geranos* dance on Delos (*h.* 4. 310 ff.).

ζωστήρες Ἐννοῦς | ἀνέρες: a very difficult phrase, though its basic sense is clear enough: περιφραστικῶς οἱ πολεμικοί (Σ). Meineke conjectured δρηστήρες Ἐννοῦς (cf. ὑποδρηστήρες Ἐννοῦς Colluthus 152), but δρηστήρ normally has pejorative overtones which would be out of place here, though they are entirely appropriate in the mouth of Athene in the Colluthus passage. Schneider rightly rejected this conjecture, but took ζωστήρες as 'cingula', and regarded the phrase as a straightforward example of synecdoche, comparing Theoc. *Id.* 15. 6: παντὰ κρηπίδες, παντὰ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες. That phrase, however, occurs in a colloquial context (albeit with complex stylistic variations) and is scarcely parallel to this heroic passage, especially as ζωστήρες is either the subject of, or is in apposition with the subject of, the verb ὠρχήσαντο. Kuiper sought a solution in Homeric diction, and compared such expressions as θωρηκτής (*M* 317 etc.) for a warrior wearing a θώρηξ, and ἄνδρες κορυσταί (*Δ* 451 etc.) for men wearing the κορύς; he therefore interpreted ζωστήρα here as 'virum qui cingulo (veluti *K* 78) ζώνωνθ', ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσοιτο'. In support of this view he adduced the existence of the word ζώστης and of Ζωστήρ as an epithet of Apollo. Ζώστης is indeed attested (Loewe–Goetz–Schoell, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, i) as a *nomen agentis*, and morphologically there is no reason why ζωστήρ should not denote 'one who girds himself': the cult-title of Apollo Ζωστήρ (Bekker, *Anecdota Gr.* i. 261. 30, Hesychius, s.v.) seems, like that of Athene Ζωστηρία (or Ζώστειρα: see Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina*, 121–3), to have been interpreted as having reference to the god as armed for battle (see Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hellenen*, ii. 162). This interpretation of ζωστήρες here as a *nomen agentis* was maintained by Bredau, 69, and Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* ii. 85 n. 1 (cf. L. Koenen, *Zeitschrift f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* 2 (1968), 180 n. 4). There is, however, the further difficulty of the genitive Ἐννοῦς: as Pasquali, *QC* 64, saw, there is no obvious parallel for the phrase as a whole in Greek poetry. The expressions πρηστήρ Ἐννοῦς (Lycophron 463, of Ajax), ἀλεξητήρας Ἐννοῦς (Nonnus, *D.* 9. 313), κυβερνητήρες Ἐννοῦς (ibid. 26. 44), while similar in sound, do not present the same difficulties of interpretation: they possibly suggest the existence of a common model in a lost epic. In the absence of further evidence, we must conclude, provisionally, that ζωστήρες is here used as a *nomen agentis* (any ambiguity with its more usual sense is removed by ἀνέρες), and that the phrase is to be interpreted as 'the men who had girded themselves with Enyo', that is, had donned armour as for battle.

In *D.* 28 Nonnus makes much use of the concept of battle seen as a dance (thus reversing the situation in *Call.*, where the dance is a kind of mock battle); he calls warriors ὀρχηστές *Ἐννῶς* (275), and refers to εὐρυθμον *Ἐννῶς* (289). Cf. especially 303–4 δ' ἐξυφάης δ' Ἰδαῖος ἐδύσατο κόμον *Ἐννῶς*, | ὀρχηστήρ πολέμοιο πολύτροπον ἔχνος ἐλίσσων.

For dances performed in armour see Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, 30–1, 101, 105–8; for the military aspects of the Carneia see Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 259 ff.

Ἐννῶς: the verse-end is the usual *sedes* for *Ἐννῶς* and its cases, e.g. *E* 333, 592, *Call. h.* 4. 276; *Hes. Theog.* 273 is an exception.

86. ὀρχήσαντο: cf. *h.* 4. 313*.

μετά + dat. has here the normal Homeric meaning of 'amongst': *Call.* visualizes the Greek men, in armour, performing the dance, surrounded by Libyan women admiring the ceremony. Note that just as in *Pindar, Py.* 9. 55–6 the nymph Cyrene is welcomed by πότνια *Λιβύα*, and in *A.R.* 2. 504–5 by the local nymphs, so here the Thera colonists are welcomed by local women.

ξανθήσι: on the blond hair of the native Libyans see Chamoux, 47, who cites *Pseudo-Scylax* 110: ξανθοὶ *Λίβυες*, *Lucan* 10. 129–31 (the Libyan slaves at Cleopatra's court) '... Libycos, pars tam flavos gerit altera crines / ut nullis Caesar Rheni se dicat in arvis / tam rutilas vidisse comas', and *Procopius, de Bello Vandalico* 2. 13. 29 ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μελανόχροοι, ἀλλὰ λευκοὶ τε λίαν τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί.

Λιβύσσαις: the question of orthography here, whether to write *Λιβύσσαις* or *Λιβύσσης*, is a specific case of the vexed subject of first and second declension dative plural endings in epic, which has provoked much discussion in spite of our limited understanding of the difference in pronunciation between such forms as *-αις* and *-ης*, and the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory solution, granted the divergence of the tradition on such points. Modern discussions of the general question include: Reichelt, *De dativis in -ois et -ης (-αις) exeuntibus* (Prog. Breslau, 1893); Witte, *Glotta* 5 (1914), 8–47 = *Zur Homerischen Sprache* (1972), 138–77; Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 194–6, 201–2; Richardson, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, p. 334.

The more specific question of Callimachus' usage is discussed by Schneider, in his note on this line (favouring *Λιβύσσαις*), and Pfeiffer, vol. ii, p. lxxxix (favouring *Λιβύσσης*). On balance, it would seem that his practice was to avoid *-ης* at the end of the line: thus *παρειαῖς* at 37 above, *ἀγνυαῖς* *h.* 3. 38, *ἐθείρας* *h.* 4. 302; *ὄχθης* at the end of *h.* 3. 100 embodies a comment on a Homeric reading (see Bornmann ad loc.) and may therefore be untypical. However, a corrupt papyrus seems to read *αγνυης* at *h.* 3. 38: see Carlini, *RFIC* 101 (1973), 145 ff., especially 153, 154, 160. It may of course be that *Call.* was inconsistent in these matters, being guided by considerations of euphony rather than grammatical dogmatism. Certainly our limited evidence does not entitle us to reject the transmitted reading when this is unambiguous (e.g. *νάπαις*, 89 below).

87. τέθμαι: a Doric and Pindaric form, favoured by *Call.*; cf. *fr.* 75. 2, *h.* 3. 147, etc., and see Schmitt, 31 n. 10. Similarly *Call.* uses the noun *τεθμός* at *fr.* 100. 1, 167. 3, etc.

Καρνειάδες: a Callimachean formation of the kind discussed on 51 above; for further instances see Schmitt, 73, Lapp, 146.

ὦραι: note the difference in sense between this usage and ὦραι in 81. The celebration of the Carneia at Cyrene began on the seventh day of the month *Karneios* (Plutarch, *quaest. conviv.* 9. 1 = *mor.* 717 d), which corresponded roughly to our August, and presumably lasted, like the Spartan festival, for nine days: see Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 259. Cf. *Eur. Alc.* 449 Σπάρτα κύκλος ἀνίκα *Καρνείου* περινόσεται ὦρας with Dale's note.

88. οὐπω... ἔναιον (89): cf. *h.* 6. 24–5 οὐπω τὰν *Κνιδίαν*, ἔτι *Λώτιον* ἱρὸν ἔναιον | *Πελασγοί*. For similar antiquarian parentheses see *h.* 3. 244–5, *fr.* 100, *h. hom.* 3. 226–8; cf. *Pindar, Ol.* 3. 23–4.

πηγῇσι Κύρης: i.e. the κρήνη *Ἀπόλλωνος* which was at the heart of the city of Cyrene (*Pindar, Py.* 4. 294, *Hdt.* 4. 158. 3, Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia*, 110). *Call.* in these lines (88–90) is playfully juxtaposing the two etymologies of 'Cyrene': cf. *Stephanus Byzantinus: Κυρήνη πόλις Λιβύης, ἀπὸ Κυρήνης τοῦ Ὑψέως, ἢ Κύρης πηγῆς ἐγγυαίου*. (Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Gr.* 1173.) In the historical period both *Κύρα* and *Κυράνα* seem to have been used as names for the city (Vitali, *Fonti*, p. 112, Malten, *Kyrene*, 70 n. 4). Cf. *Δωδῶ* (Simmias, *fr.* 10 Powell) for *Δωδώνη*. Chamoux, 126 compares the doublets *Λέβα/Λεβήνη*, *Σίδη/Σιδήνη*; he advocates the derivation from *κύρα*, which according to Bertoldi (*Mélanges Boisacq*, i. 47–63) was originally the native Libyan word for the asphodel, which grows in abundance in the Cyrene area. On this view, the connection with the Thessalian nymph (whose legend is earlier than the Thera colonization in Libya) would be fortuitous, and would consist in a homophone; later, the legend was adopted and fostered: 'dans la Cité des *Asphodèles* la nymphe "éponyme" est restée longtemps une étrangère' (127).

πελάσσαι: cf. *Ψ* 719* οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δύνατο σφῆλαι οὐδὲ τε πελάσσαι; κ 440*, *A.R.* i. 692*, 2. 293*.

89. Δωριέες: once only in Homer, at τ 177*. This emphatic insistence that it was the Dorians (i.e. the Thera followers of Battus) who had not yet reached Cyrene shows that *Call.* accepted the tradition of an earlier Thessalian settlement there; this is confirmed by 95 below. This tradition is supported only by tenuous evidence, and is described by Chamoux, 82–3 as 'une invention rationaliste des historiens et mythographes hellénistiques en marge de la légende primitive'. More recent archaeological investigations have failed to produce firm evidence to counter Chamoux's scepticism: see Vickers, 28.

πυκινὴν... νάπαις Ἀζιλιν: cf. *Hdt.* 4. 157. 3: Ἀζιρίς, τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω συγκληθῆναι. *Aziris/Azilis* (the orthography of the non-Greek name differs in the two authors, not surprisingly) was, according to Herodotus, occupied by the colonists for six years before their final move to Cyrene, which was more suitable as an

agricultural settlement. For the identification of the site see Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia*, 18–19.

πυκινὴν: the use of πυκνός + dative is Homeric, e.g. *N* 804.

νάπαις: νάπη occurs only twice in Homer (*Θ* 558 = *Π* 300), and the choice of the word is presumably a reminiscence of Herodotus. νάπαις is the transmitted reading here, and since forms in -αις are used before a vowel (as at 37), there is no good reason for changing it. ἐναίον: cf. *B* 522*, 593*, etc., *h.* 6. 24*, *A.R.* 1. 139*, 162*, etc.

90. ἴδεν: contrast εἶδε at 93. For the motif of the deity watching from a hilltop cf. *h.* 1. 80–2, 4. 61–9.

αὐτός: very emphatic, as at 57*, *h.* 1. 82, *h.hom.* 3. 181. Meineke (*Fleckeisen's Neue Jahrbücher* 6 (1860), 42–3) strangely regarded this emphasis as 'unpassend' and proposed αὐτόθι, which is trivial. In an epiphany hymn the motif of the god's actual presence is most important, especially when, as here, the poet is connecting the present festival with an earlier celebration witnessed by the god himself: see Bornmann on *h.* 3. 249–50.

ἐπεδείξατο: the middle here means 'show off . . . what is one's own' (LSJ s.v. ἐπιδείκνυμι 2); cf. Hdt. 7. 146. 3 (of Xerxes displaying his forces to Greek spies) ἐπιδείκυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. Apollo proudly acknowledged the Therans as his own worshippers, and commended them to Cyrene. The verb is used slightly differently at 99.

νύμφη: both senses are appropriate, 'nymph' (e.g. α 14) and 'bride' (e.g. λ 38). Cyrene's own name is not used either here or at 92, where she is Ὑψίς: the reason is obvious; cf. Moschus, *Eur.* 9 ff.

91. Μυρτούσσης: Myrtoussa has been identified by some scholars with a prominent hill to the west of the city of Cyrene: see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 920 n. 313. *A.R.*, in relating the translation of the nymph Cyrene to Libya, refers to *Μυρτώσιον αἶπος* (2. 505), and a Cyrenean inscription of imperial date attests a cult of Apollo *Μυρτώος* (*CIG* 3. 5138 = Vitali, *Fonti*, 67). Chamoux, 16 vouches for the aptness of the name. The distance from this vantage-point to the scene of the Carneia at Azilis (assuming this to be Wadi el-Chalig) is approximately 100 km according to Vickers's map (art. cit. 27), and thus well within the range of Apollo's vision (see on 93).

κερατώδης: the unanimous reading of the direct and indirect traditions. However, Meineke (*Fleckeisen* 6 (1860), 43) regarded it as 'prosodisch fehlerhaft' and proposed κεραώδης; this conjecture is accepted by Schneider, Kuiper, Bredau, 45, and Schmitt, 119 n. 18. It is true that in the minority of cases where the quantity can be determined the α in κερατ- compounds is usually long; there are, however, a number of exceptions, e.g. κεράττηφόρε Phaestus (Powell, p. 28), κεράττωπις Manetho 4. 91, κεράτοξόος Nonnus, *D.* 3. 76 (which Meineke also proposed to change); the prosody of the oblique cases of κέρας itself is so variable that Meineke's changes are unnecessary. See further O. Rebmann, *Die sprachlichen Neuerungen in den Kynegitika Ophiens von Aramea* (Basle, 1918), 11–12.

κερατώδης 'horn-like' is used in technical contexts by Aristotle, *HA* 595^a13 and Theophrastus, *HP* 5. 1. 6; here it presumably refers to the prominence and steepness of the hill: cf. *A.R.* 2. 505 αἶπος, Pindar, *Py.* 9. 55 ὄχθον ἀμφίπεδον, *Py.* 4. 8 ἀργεννόνετι μαστῶ. κέρας meaning 'hill' is a v.l. at *h.hom.* 1. 8, where Allen–Halliday–Sikes list further instances, to which add Lycophron 534 (of a promontory) Μαζουσία προύχουσα χερσαίου κέρως, and Agathias, *AP* 4. 3. 86 (of the pillars of Hercules) δῖλινγος . . . κεραίη.

ἦχι: on the question of orthography see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 249.

λέοντα: in the earlier forms of the legend (*Hes. fr.* 215 M–W, Pindar, *Py.* 9. 5–70) Cyrene slew her lion in Thessaly, and was subsequently carried off to Libya by Apollo. Call., like Acesander (*FGH* 469 fr. 4 = scholia to *A.R.* 2. 498), mentions only the lion-slaying in Libya, and connects it with the story of Eurypylus, a legendary king of Libya (Pindar, *Py.* 4. 33), who offered his kingdom as a prize to anyone who could kill a lion which was ravaging the area. It is most unlikely that Call. himself is responsible for this version of the story: see Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* ii. 140–1. His adoption of it was doubtless motivated partly by local patriotism, partly by rationalizing syncretism: cf. Chamoux, 77 ff. The allusion to the lion-slaying also helps to link this episode to the next (97–104, Apollo's own slaying of Pytho), and it further underlines the fact that Call. attaches lion-slaying to the legend of the nymph, not to the story of his own ancestor Battus (see on 76 above).

Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* ii. 139–41, pours well-deserved scorn on allegorical interpretations which see in this passage the figure of Ptolemy Euergetes behind Apollo, Berenice behind Cyrene, and Demetrius behind the lion; it is sad to see that such interpretations are still being advocated by modern scholars, who unfortunately fail to answer Kuiper's question, 'Quaenam vacca intellegitur?'.

92. Ὑψίς: cf. *h.* 3. 208*. Some authors made Cyrene the daughter of the river-god Peneius: see scholia to *A.R.* 2. 498 (Wendel, 168).

κατέπεφνε: this form is frequently found in this *sedes* in Homer, e.g. *Z* 183, λ 574; cf. *A.R.* 2. 112*.

σίνω: the word occurs, in this *sedes*, in the epic line *Ἀντόλυκον πόλεων κτεάνων σίνω Ἀργεῖ κοιλῶ*, attributed to Antimachus Teius by Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 247. A more obvious model may be *λέοντα σίνω δόμοις*, the manuscript reading at Aesch. *Ag.* 718 (referring, on some interpretations, to Paris), which seems to have given rise to Lycophron's description of Paris as *δόμοις | σίνω* (538–9). Among modern editors of Aeschylus, Conington's conjecture *λέοντος ἰνῶ* has won almost universal approval; but it looks as if the vulgate text in the 3rd century, like the medieval manuscripts, read *λέοντα σίνω*. Cf. Anyte, *AP* 7. 202. 3 (= Gow–Page, *HE* 706), where *σίνω* is used again of a marauding animal; Homer has the adjective *σίντης* 'ravaging' of lions at *A* 481, *Y* 165.

Εὐρυπόλοιο: cf. *O* 392*.

93. εἶδε: contrast ἴδεν at 90.

θεώτερον: *θεώτεροι* occurs once only in Homer, at *ν* 111 (same *sedes*), where it refers to the entrance to the cave of the nymphs which was used by the gods, as opposed to the one accessible to men; on the significance of the quasi-comparative form see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 257. For similar comparative and superlative adjectives formed from nouns cf. *πυρώτερα* Aratus 798, *δοιδότατοι* *h.* 4. 252; contrast the formation of *θειότερον* (*h.* 1. 80) from the positive adjective *θεῖος*. (Call. may be alluding here to *χορόν θεῖον* at *θ* 264.) The word recurs, in a similar context, of Dawn seeing the Artemisium at Ephesus, *h.* 3. 245... *τοῦ δ' οὐτι θεώτερον ὄψεται ἡώς* (note in both cases the juxtaposition of the adjective with a verb of seeing: *εἶδε θεώτερον* | *θεώτερον ὄψεται*), in both instances the sense 'more partaking in divinity', 'more godlike', is conveyed. There is a possible allusion to *h.hom.* 3. 151 (of the Ionians giving delight to Apollo by celebrating his festival on Delos) *φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγῆρωις ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ*. For another example of the motif of the deity inspecting religious rites cf. *h.* 3. 180-2... *θεὸς οὐποτ' ἐκείνον | ἦλθε παρ' Ἡέλιος καλὸν χορόν, ἀλλὰ θεήται | δῖφρον ἐπιστήσας, τὰ δὲ φάεα μὴκύνονται*.

ἄλλον Ἀπόλλων: note the assonance, and the balance with 96, *ἄλλον* occupying the same *sedes* in both lines.

Ἀπόλλων: McKay suggests (*RM* 114 (1971), 191-2) that there is here an allusion to the motif that the Sun sees all things; as at 52 above, this motif is elegantly combined with the identification of the Sun with Apollo.

94. πόλει: contrast *πόλη* in 77.

τόσ' ... τόσσα: correlatives; cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 4. 4-5 *τόσον ... τόσσον*. See also note on 81 above.

ἔδειμεν: this is the reading of the manuscripts but Lascaris's conjecture *ἐνείμεν* has won general acceptance; only Danielsson, *Eranos* 4 (1900-2), 79-80 defends the tradition. However, *ἔδειμε* is attested once only in Homer (*I* 349*), and makes excellent sense. Call. has already stressed, immediately before the Cyrene section, that Apollo 'rejoices in the foundation of cities', and, moreover, that he 'weaves the foundations himself' (56-7). Earlier, he proclaimed that Apollo has the power to ensure that 'the city-wall continues to stand on its ancient foundations' (15); and he reported Apollo's oath that he would 'give city-walls' to the Battiads (67). Thus the reading *ἔδειμεν* is completely consistent with the rest of the hymn: whereas Apollo helped to build parts of other cities, he has built more for Cyrene than for any other city. The Battiads succeeded to a city which Apollo had already established for his nymph and her Thessalian followers: cf. Pindar, *Py.* 4. 259-61 *ἐνθεν δ' ὕμνι Λατοίδας ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίον | σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς ὀφέλλειν, ἄστυ χρυσοθρόνον | διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας | ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις*.

The reading *ἔδειμεν*, displaced in printed texts by the trivial conjecture *ἐνείμεν*, is paralleled by *ἔδειμαν* at Hes. *fr.* 273. 1 M-W, where modern editors have tended to print Schneider's conjecture *ἐνείμαν*: *ἦδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ πνέσθαι, ὅσα θνητοῖσιν ἔδειμαν | ἀθάνατοι, δειλὼν τε καὶ*

ἐσθλὼν τέκμαρ ἐναργές. In each case the subject is divine, the object is neuter plural; but in Hesiod the 'building' is metaphorical (see Giangrande, *CQ* 20 (1970), 154). Here, I believe, *ἔδειμεν* is meant literally, though Danielsson cites Pindar, *Ol.* 3. 6, *Py.* 1. 61, *Is.* 6. 10 in favour of a metaphorical interpretation: for literal uses of *θεόδμητος* cf. *Θ* 519, Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 59, *fr.* 33b. 1, Soph. *El.* 707, Eur. *Hipp.* 974, *IT* 1449.

ὀφέλισμα: first attested here, and probably of Callimachean coinage; cf. Schmitt, 100 n. 5. It recurs at Oppian, *Hal.* 3. 429, *Orph. Arg.* 469; there is no evidence to support Kuiper's contention that it is a colloquialism. It is formed from the noun *ὀφελος*, like *μόρσιμος* (*X* 13 etc.) from *μόρος*, which also produced *μόριμος* (*Y* 302). Cf. also its semantic equivalents *ὀνήσιμος* (*h.hom.* 4. 30) from *ὄνησις* (*ἀπαξ* in Homer, *φ* 402), and *ὠφελήσιμος* (Soph. *Aj.* 1022), varying the usual *ὠφέλιμος*: these earlier experiments probably provided the incentive for Callimachus' creation, if it is such; the further variation *ὀφέλλιμος* is found in the astrologer Maximus (135).

95. μνωόμενος ...: a neat piece of word-play. In Homer, the verb *μνάσθαι* has two distinct senses, 'remember, be mindful of', and 'woo'. (Presumably two originally separate verbs have become confused: see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 361.) In this context, after the mention of the nymph, the latter significance might have been expected, but the following genitive shows that the former is intended; however, there is a further twist, since what Apollo remembers is his wooing.

προτέρης: a reminder that, as Call. reconstructed the early history of Cyrene, the transplanting of the nymph to Libya took place before Battus' settlement.

ἀρπακτύος: the only occurrence of this word. It is clearly formed from *ἀρπάζειν* (cf. *ἄρπασ'* in Pindar's account of the incident, *Py.* 9. 6) on the analogy of *ῥυστακτύος* (*ἀπαξ* at *σ* 224, in the same *sedes*) from *ῥυστάζειν*. The formation of nouns in *-τύος* is a feature of epic language particularly favoured by Call.: cf. *διωκτύς* *h.* 3. 194, *γελαστύς* *h.* 4. 324, *πλαγκτύς* *fr.* 26. 7. See further Pfeiffer on *fr.* 10, Schwyzler, i. 508, Wyss, *Antimachi reliquiae*, p. xxxii, Schmitt, 72-3, 79. One reason for Call.'s choice of this word may be that according to some accounts (e.g. that of Mnaseas, quoted in the scholia to A.R. 2. 498; Wendel, 168) Cyrene emigrated to Libya of her own free will; Call. is following the more usual version (also the more Cyrenean: cf. Acesander, Wendel, *ibid.* = *FGH* 469 *fr.* 4), which stressed Apollo's initiative.

References to a god's sexual triumphs were evidently not felt to be inappropriate in a hymn: cf. *h.hom.* 3. 208, Pindar, *Paeon* 6. 134 ff., Isyllus, *Paeon* 48 ff.

96. Βαττιάδαι: since this includes Call. himself (see notes on 67, 71 above), the Cyrene section ends, as it had begun, on a personal note. This declaration of the mutual regard of the poet and the god prepares for the final scene of the poem (105-113), in which Apollo vindicates Call. against the criticisms of his enemies.

ἔτισαν: on the question of orthography (ἔτισαν or ἔτεισαν) see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 13, 412, citing earlier discussions. Cf. the use of the word at *I* 110* of gods honouring a mortal.

97-104. Call. now traces the origin of the cry ἡ ἡ παῖνον back to Apollo's slaying of the serpent at Delphi. This mythical episode attracted much attention from poets and other writers, and it has been investigated in detail by T. Schreiber in his monograph *Apollon Pythoktonos* (Leipzig, 1879), and, on a cosmic scale, by J. Fontenrose, *Python*... (Berkeley, 1959). Some mention of it was almost *de rigueur* in a hymn to Apollo: cf. *h.hom.* 3. 300-74, Eur. *IT* 1245-59, *Paean Delphicus*, i (Powell, p. 141), 18-20, Limenius, *Paean* 26-30.

One treatment of the theme, that of Apollonius (2. 705-13), bears a close resemblance to that of Call. here. It occurs after an actual epiphany of Apollo, is on the same miniature scale, and takes the form of a hymn to Apollo sung by Orpheus, in which he explains the origin of the ἡ ἡ παῖνον cry. There are, however, sufficient differences between the two accounts to suggest that their relationship is more complex than one of direct dependence (in either direction), even granted the usual operation of the practice of *imitatio cum variatione*. For example, the serpent is unnamed here, but in Apollonius is called Delphynes, and the ways in which the scene of the encounter is specified are markedly different. Pfeiffer's view (on *fr.* 88) is that Apollonius is imitating Callimachus' treatment of the episode in the fourth book of the *Aetia*.

This view has interesting consequences. If we accept it, it follows that Call. himself, both here and at *h.* 4. 91-6, is alluding to his own earlier work (cf. Pfeiffer on *fr.* 388 for another example of such self-quotation). We know that the *Aetia* attracted criticism from Callimachus' enemies, as well as the admiration of his pupil Apollonius. If the *Pythoktonia* episode was singled out for particularly flattering imitation by Apollonius, as we have seen appears to be the case, it is also possible that that passage was regarded as particularly controversial. In the lines which follow the *Pythoktonia* here, there is an animated discussion between Apollo and Phthonos on the validity of Callimachus' treatment of epic material. It seems likely that the *Pythoktonia* passage serves to introduce this literary discussion by providing a test case, a specimen of Callimachus' novel style of representing traditional themes. At the same time this section is thoroughly integrated into the poem as a whole, and cannot be regarded as a later addition, as was once supposed. The refrain which prompts it is sung by the chorus at the end of the song (32-96) which eulogized Apollo's virtues; in so uttering the refrain, the chorus is obeying the poet's command (25). It takes up some of the hints in 20-4: there the poet tells how even Thetis and Niobe, who both grieve at the results of Apollo's archery, are silent when they hear the cry ἡ ἡ παῖνον. Now he explains the meaning of that cry, and its connection with Apollo's first feat of archery.

97. ἡ ἡ: on the prosody see note on 25; on the orthography see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 18. 6. Call. here, as at 21, 25, adopts the aspirated form to suit the etymological theory he is proposing (see 103). Cf. Athenaeus 15. 701 d-e, Hesychius s.v. ἡῖος· δασέως μὲν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἀπὸ ἀφέσεως καὶ τῆς τοξείας, ψιλῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰάσεως.

ἀκούομεν: this not only maintains the fiction of the ritual setting of the poem, but also draws attention to the actual sound of the cry, on which Call. bases his etymology. There is a reminiscence at Euphorion, *fr.* 80. 1 Powell (= 92 Sch.), where the word recurs in the same *sedes* and in a similar context.

οὔνεκα: this conjunction is often used in explaining the origin of names; cf. *h.* 3. 236, Aratus 93, A.R. 3. 246, West on Hes. *Theog.* 144.

98. Δελφός: a comparatively late form, first attested (as a noun) at *h.hom.* 27. 14. Δελφοί as a place-name does not occur in Homer, though the Homeric hymn to Apollo appears to be explaining it in its account of the epiphany of Apollo *Delphinus* (see Allen-Halliday-Sikes, 198). The phrase Δελφός... λαός is also slightly un-Homeric, as λαός+ethnic adjective seems not to occur before Pindar (e.g. Δωριεῖ λαῶ *Ol.* 8. 30).

τοί is of course the dative of *τυ*, and marks the return to *Du-Stil*, which is maintained to 104.

ἐφύμνιον 'refrain': the word is also used by Apollonius of the ἡ cry, 2. 713*, and by Call. again of the τήνελλε καλλύνικε chant at *fr.* 384. 39* (for the latter cf. Archilochus, *fr.* 207 Tarditi). It is usually regarded as a Callimachean invention: see Bredau, 19-21, Schmitt, 37 n. 36; cf. the terms ἐπίφθεγμα, ἐπίρρημα (both used of the ἡ cry by Athenaeus 15. 696-7), ἐπωδός, ἐπιμελώδημα (scholia to Theoc. *Id.* 1. 64). For the development of such ritual cries into refrains repeated at regular intervals see Wünsch, *RE* ix. 145-6, Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 121; cf. Athenaeus 15. 701 b-f for a discussion of whether the ἡ cry was to be regarded as a παροιμία, an ἐφύμνιον, or τι ἄλλο.

εὔρετο: cf. *h.* 4. 323*, *II* 472*.

λαός: in some versions (e.g. Duris, Clearchus) it is Leto who utters the cry; see Schreiber, 17. A.R. attributes it to the Corycian nymphs (2. 711): for this version see Fontenrose, 78, 410 ff.

99. ἐκηβολίην: once only in Homer, at *E* 54 (same *sedes*, but in the plural). Call. ignores the digamma.

ἐπεδείκνυστο: cf. 90 above. The meaning here, as at Pindar *fr.* 32 (also of Apollo), is 'give proof of' (cf. Plato, *Phdr.* 234 a *fin.*, 258 a). The imperfect is inceptive, a subtle indication that this was Apollo's first great feat of archery, which also won him the titles ἐκηβόλος and χρυσότοξος, alluded to in this line.

Ovid, *Met.* 1. 441 ff. expands the hints in Call.'s economical narrative: 'hunc deus arcitenens et nunquam talibus armis / ante nisi in damnis capreisque fugacibus usus / mille gravem telis, exhausta paene pharetra, / perdidit.'

100. Πυθώ: the Homeric name for Delphi (*I* 405 etc.), which the

author of the Homeric hymn to Apollo derived from the putrefaction (πύθειν: *h.hom.* 3. 369–74) of the serpent's corpse, a view which Call. implicitly rejects. Here the case is accusative, limiting κατιόντι: cf. *h.hom.* 3. 216 Πιερίην... κατήλθες. The alternative interpretation, that Πυθώ is nominative, being a feminine version of Πύθων, a frequent name of the serpent, is implausible: it would leave κατιόντι high and dry, and would ruin the construction of the sentence, robbing θήρ of all its force.

κατιόντι: cf. *h.* 3. 19... σπαρνὸν γὰρ ὅτ' Ἄρτεμις ἄστν κάτειων. Here too the word suggests returning to the town after hunting in the mountains.

συνήντητο: cf. *h.* 3. 161*, Φ 34*, δ 367*, φ 31*, [Theoc.] *Id.* 8. 1*, Euphorion, *fr.* 111* Powell.

δαιμόνιος: only the vocative occurs in Homer, with the single exception of *h.hom.* 4. 97 δαιμόνιή νύξ (verse-end), of a mysteriously long night (see Allen–Halliday–Sikes ad loc.). The serpent was certainly of immense size (cf. *h.* 4. 91–3, A.R. 2. 706), but the adjective may mean 'god-sent', because in some versions of the story it was sent by Hera. Cf. *h.hom.* 3. 305 ff., Bachmann, *Anecdota Gr.* ii. 351. 14 (quoted by Schreiber, 4): τὸν... δράκοντα, ὃν ἐπέστησεν ἡ Ἥρα τῇ Λητοίᾳ ἔτι κυοῦσῃ ἐκ Διὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, τάχιστα διαφθεροῦντα τὰ νεογνά, αὐτίκα γεννηθεὶς Ἀπόλλων ἐτόξευσσε Πυθοῖ. The adjective πελώριος applied to the serpent by A.R. 2. 706 similarly combines the notions of monstrous size and sinister power.

θήρ: as usually in Call., the monosyllable at the end of the hexameter is preceded by a bucolic diaeresis: cf. 83 above, and see Maas, *Greek Metre*, 64.

101. αἰνὸς ὄφης: cf. αἰόλον ὄφιν *M* 208, δεινὸς ὄφης Hes. *fr.* 33 (a) 17 M–W, *Theog.* 299, A.R. 4. 1506. *M* 208 is the only occurrence of ὄφης in Homer; there the first syllable is seemingly regarded as long (see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 104, Wyatt, *Metrical Lengthening in Homer*, 231–2). Though ὄφης is a frequent word in the Alexandrian poets, this metrical peculiarity is not imitated by Aratus, Theocritus, A.R., or Call.: cf. Pfeiffer on *fr.* 575.

The accumulation of description is found also at *h.* 4. 91–2, *h.hom.* 3. 302, Eur. *IT* 1244 ff., *Paeon Delphicus*, i. 18 ff.

κατήναρες: cf. ἐξενάριξεν A.R. 2. 706. The verb κατεναίρειν occurs only once in Homer, at λ 519 (middle: the active is used by Soph. *Ant.* 871). The simple verb ἐναίρειν is used of killing animals at Φ 485, despite its supposed derivation from ἔναρα; cf. scholia ad loc.: ἐναίρειν καταχρηστικῶς· θήρες γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι παντευχίαν ὥστε σκυλευθῆναι. See further Lehrs, 145.

ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ | βάλλων...: note the assonance, and the allusion to one of the traditional etymologies of Apollo's name, from αἰ βάλλων; cf. Plato, *Crat.* 405c: διὰ τὸ αἰὲ βολῶν ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι τοξικῇ Ἀειβάλλων ἐστίν. This same exploit was sometimes thought to explain Apollo's epithet ἐκατηβόλος; cf. Hesychius s.v., τινὲς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐκατὸν βέλεσι τὴν ἐν Πυθοῖ δράκαιναν ἀνείλεν Ἀπόλλων. However, in *h.hom.*

3. 357–8 Apollo dispatches the beast with a single arrow; this poetic arms race reaches a climax with Ovid's *mille telis* (*Met.* 1. 443).

102. ὠκὺν δῖστον: cf. *E* 395, φ 416*.

ἐπηῦτρε: the verb is first attested at [Hes.] *Shield* 309... ἐπὶ δὲ πλήμναι μέγ' αὐτεῖν. It is used of persons at Theoc. *Id.* 22. 92, A.R. 4. 1337, of Corsica personified at *h.* 3. 58.

103. ἦ ἦ παῖον: that is, the crowd shouted ἦε, ἦε, παῖ, ἰόν, which is further clarified by the words ἦε βέλος: see L. Radermacher, *Philologus* 60 (1901), 500–1, K. Strunk, *Glotta* 38 (1959), 79–80. The play on the sounds of the cry had already been signalled by ἀκούομεν in 97. Other etymologies of the cry were canvassed in antiquity: see Athenaeus 15. 701 b–e, Schreiber, 17 ff., Fränkel, *Noten*, 228–9. The one proposed here by Call. is supported by Clearchus (Athenaeus 15. 701 c–d), A.R. 2. 712, and Duris, *FGH* 76 *fr.* 79, who, however, like Clearchus, attributed the cry to Leto. Even when uttered by the Delphians, παῖ is still an appropriate form of address, since the accounts of the serpent-slaying all agree that it was an exploit of Apollo's childhood, if not indeed of his infancy: cf. Schreiber, 4–5, Kuiper, *Stud. Call.* ii. 65. ἰόν is a word used in other accounts of this story, e.g. *h.hom.* 3. 357... οἱ ἰὼν ἐφήκεν ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, Limenius, *Paeon* 27 παῖδα Γᾶς τ' ἐπεφνες ἰοῖς: it is suggested here by use of the synonyms δῖστον and βέλος.

Since this whole passage (98–104) takes the form of an apostrophē, it is not clear where the quotation of the Delphians' words is meant to end. Cahen, Pfeiffer, and Howald–Staiger extend it to include the sentence εὐθύ... ἀοσητήρα, while Mair and others end it at βέλος; some editors fail to indicate their interpretation. Though certainty cannot be attained on such a question, Mair's view seems preferable, which has Call. attributing the simple, urgent cry (which subsequently became the ἐφύμνιον) to the Delphians, and adding in *propria persona* the learned observation which follows.

εὐθύ: not a Homeric word, though it occurs, in a local sense, at *h.hom.* 4. 342, and in a temporal sense at *Batr.* 157. It goes closely with γείνατο: cf. αὐτίκα γεννηθεῖς in the passage quoted on 100.

μήτηρ | γείνατο: cf. Φ 84–5*; γείνατο μήτηρ is a frequent line-ending in Homer, e.g. *A* 280, *I* 238, ζ 25.

104. ἀοσητήρα: 'a helper'; used of Apollo at *O* 254. It was thought to be connected with ὄσσα, signifying someone who readily answered a cry for help (cf. scholia to δ 165); hence its aptness here. It is also semantically equivalent to the title παῖων, and serves to explain how the original appeal for help uttered by the Delphians came to be a title meaning 'Deliverer', and also a song of triumph.

τὸ δ'...: 'ever since then (ἐξέτι) you have been celebrated in this way (τὸ δ' = by the ἦ cry) from that cause (κεῖθεν)', i.e. from the slaying of the serpent.

105–13. Callimachus relates how Phthonos approaches Apollo and condemns poetry which is 'not even as great as the sea'. Apollo rejects

Phthonos and his criticism, drawing a contrast between the vast but muddy Assyrian river, and the tiny droplets of water which are thrown up in the spray from a pure fountain.

This is possibly the most controversial passage in the extant works of Callimachus, and its difficulties fully justify Kuiper's words, 'Devenimus tandem ad versus de Phthono deo, in quibus multa quidem obscura Oedipoda suum expectant' (*Stud. Call.* i. 219). Since Kuiper's day there has been no dearth of scholars anxious to solve the riddles, but some obscurities remain. Recent discussions include the following:

- H. Erbse, 'Zum Apollonhymnos des Kallimachos', *Hermes* 83 (1955), 411-28 (= Skiadas, 276-300).
 W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 59-65, 80, 222-5.
 E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin, 1961), 169-71.
 A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg, 1965), 77, 146-7.
 R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i (Oxford, 1968), 284 (on lines 110-11 only).
 S. Jannaccone, 'Il "fiume assiro" e la religiosità di Callimaco', *Giorn. It. Fil.* 21 (1969), 203-7.
 G. Huxley, 'Kallimachos, the Assyrian river, and the Bees of Demeter', *GRBS* 12 (1971), 211-15.
 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii (Oxford, 1972), 1059-62, notes 294-306.
 E. L. Bundy, 'The "Quarrel between Kallimachos and Apollonios", Part I: The Epilogue of Kallimachos's *Hymn to Apollo*', *California Studies in Classical Philology* 5 (1972), 39-94.

While the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo (if indeed that constitutes a separate entity) ends with a genial *envoi* to the girls of Delos, in which the poet commends his wares (*h.hom.* 3. 166 ff.), the closing lines of Timotheus' *Persae* (202 ff.) offer a closer parallel for this kind of literary *apologia* at the end of a poem: there Timotheus prays to Apollo to defend him against the criticism—*μῶμος* (210)—which has been levelled at his new style of poetry. (Bundy, 45 ff. cites other hymnic parallels.) At the end of his *Iambi* (fr. 203), Callimachus issues a vigorous reply to his critics; but the best-known of all his essays in literary polemic is of course the prologue to the *Aetia*, and this passage has several features in common with it. In particular, Callimachus represents his literary enemies here as Phthonos, in the *Aetia* prologue as Telchines, demons whose principal characteristic is that they are *φθονεῖν* (see Herter, *RE* v. 1, 206 ff., Kambylis, 76, Giangrande, *Hermes* 96 (1968), 720-1). Clearly too the dispute here, as in the *Aetia* prologue, is at least in part between long poems and short poems. (Though we should of course remember that 'long' and 'short' are relative terms, and that in neither passage is mere length the only

consideration: see K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos*² (Leipzig, 1966), T. M. Klein, *Eranos* 73 (1975), 16-25.)

However, the terms in which Callimachus presents the dispute here are more complex than those of the *Aetia*, and admit of a more precise interpretation. Phthonos condemns the poet whose song is not *even* as great (*οὐδ' ὅσα*) as the sea. These words carry two important implications: first, that the sea represents, at least for Phthonos, a positive standard of what is good in poetry; secondly, that as well as the quantitative judgement he has made, it would also be possible to compare the poet (who is of course Callimachus himself) with the sea in terms of quality, and this comparison would be even more damaging to Callimachus. In other words, *οὐδ' ὅσα* implies an unspoken *οἶα*.

Apollo in his reply does not challenge Phthonos' respect for the sea (and, of course, whatever it represents in literary terms); he avoids taking issue with him on his comparison between Callimachus and the sea, and proceeds to use slightly different analogies. As Erbse has pointed out, the sea, according to Greek conceptions, was essentially pure (art. cit. 424; cf. Kambylis, 23-5), and it is not surprising that Apollo accepts the sea, at least tacitly, as a positive standard. The terms he uses himself as analogies for different kinds of poetry are again types of water, but on a lesser scale: the Assyrian river, whose size may suggest comparison with the sea (this is the implication of the diction here: see notes on 108), but which is muddy and polluted, and the fine spray thrown up from the pure fountain. Thus three analogies are being used, and two standards of comparison, size and purity: *πόντος* is large, and pure; the *ποταμός* is large, and impure; the spray from the *πίδαξ* is small, and pure. Phthonos approves of *πόντος*, as does Apollo by implication; but Apollo condemns the *ποταμός*, and approves of the water from the *πίδαξ*.

Before attempting to establish what kinds of poetry are represented by these terms, it seems desirable to inquire how the three types of water are related to each other, in the hope that this will cast some light on why the largest and the smallest terms should both receive Apollo's approval. A famous passage of Homer seems to offer an answer. At *Φ* 192-7 Achilles boasts of his own superiority, as a descendant of Zeus, to Asteropaeus, who has a river-god among his ancestors:

καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ποταμός γε πάρα μέγας, εἰ δύναται τι
 χραῖσμεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι Διὶ Κρονίωνι μάχεσθαι,
 τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,
 οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖται μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο,
 ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
 καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.

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That is to say, all waters, including rivers and springs, flow from Ὀκεανός: a similar notion is expressed in mythological terms by Hes. *Theog.* 337-70, Soph. *fr.* 270. 1-2 Pearson. These lines attracted much attention in antiquity; they seem to have provided the model for

Xenophanes' statement that the sea is the origin of all forms of water:

πηγή δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσαν ὕδατος, πηγή δ' ἀνέμοιο
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν <γίνονται κε ἰς ἀνέμοιο
ἐκπνέοντες> ἔσθθεν ἄνευ πόντου μεγάλου
οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰ(θέρος) ὄμβριον ὕδωρ
ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν.

(fr. 30 D.-K. = Kirk and Raven 186.)

Note that in line 5 πόντος is equivalent to Homer's Ὠκεανός.

Nearer to Callimachus' own time, the Homeric passage (Φ 192-7) became controversial for textual reasons: neither Megacrides nor Zenodotus seems to have accepted the crucial line 195 (see Pasquali, *Storia*, 225-8, who argues that Zenodotus is independent of Megacrides, and that 195 may even be a post-Zenodotean interpolation. In any case the Ἀχελώϊος of 194 will be equivalent to Ὠκεανός: cf. Panyasis, P.Oxy. 221 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 248), and G. W. Bond on Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 753 N). Later, it was defended by Aristarchus: see Lehms, 173. It need hardly be stated that such textual controversy was exactly the kind of factor to lead Callimachus to allude to the passage (cf. the Niobe metamorphosis, 22-4 above), as he is undoubtedly doing here.

The relationship then of the three forms of water can be defined: πόντος (= Homer's Ὠκεανός, as in Xenophanes) is the origin of the waters both of the river and of the spring: the streams of the river have become polluted with the refuse of γῆ (the opposite element to water), but the untouched spring retains its pristine purity, and thus its kinship with the pure πόντος from which it ultimately proceeds.

It is possible to convert these allegorical terms into the kinds of poetry Callimachus meant them to represent: the very passage of Homer which we have examined and to which Callimachus is alluding was used in antiquity to express the relationship between Homer and all subsequent poets. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *de comp. verb.* 24 κορυφή μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων καὶ σκοπός "ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι" δικαίως ἂν "Ὅμηρος λέγοιτο, Quintilian 10. 1. 46 'hic enim [sc. Homerus], quem ad modum ex Oceano dicit ipse amnium fontiumque cursus initium capere, omnibus eloquentiae partibus exemplum et ortum dedit'. Who first made this comparison is uncertain, but there are firm indications that it was already a commonplace in the Hellenistic period. A set of anapaests, attributed to the Ptolemaic age by Powell (*Coll. Alex.* 187-8 = Page, *GLP* 93a) lists various districts of Greece and continues:

σὼν πάντες, Ὅμηρε, αἰνετὸν ὕμνων
φύσιν ἡρώων λογάσιν μερόπων
παραδεξάμενοι μεγαλύνουσιν,
τήν τ' ἀπὸ Μουσῶν ἀφθιτον αὐδὴν,
ἣν σὺ μερίμναις ταῖσιν ἀπρύτοις
καθυφηνάμενος πόντος τις ὄψας
ἐπτυσας ἄλλοις . . . / φωσὶν ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς.

The verses are undistinguished hack-work, and it is scarcely conceivable that their author invented the Homer-πόντος comparison. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the conception of Homer as Oceanus was the subject of a painting by the artist Galaton which was placed in the *Homereion* founded by Ptolemy IV: see F. Marx, 'De Galatonis tabula', *Rhein. Mus.* 76 (1927), 446-8, Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, 144-5. Since the comparison is echoed by authors as diverse as Manilius and Longinus, Eustathius and Tzetzes, it would seem highly probable, even without the evidence of this passage of Callimachus, that it arose in the great age of Alexandrian scholarship. (Some of these later examples of the comparison are collected in an appendix.) Since, however, Callimachus is alluding to the Oceanus passage of Homer in the context of a discussion of literary models and standards, it seems certain that he is exploiting the Homer-Oceanus comparison, and it is reasonable to conjecture that the comparison had some topicality.

Once πόντος in 106 is seen as indicating Homer, the whole passage comes into sharp focus. Phthonos' complaint is that Callimachus does not emulate even the length of Homer's poems (cf. the similar complaint of the Telchines, *Aetia* fr. 1. 3-4): in quality the Homeric epics were, of course, inimitable (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 7. 45-8, Skiadas, *Homer im griechischen Epigramm*, cc. 3-4, Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 137) and to accuse a contemporary poet of not coming up to Homer's standards was an easy gibe (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 16. 20).

Apollo, expressing of course Callimachus' own views, rejects the suggestion that poems which are merely lengthy are by that token 'Homeric'. The Assyrian river is long and wide, challenging comparison with the streams of Oceanus: but its current is sluggish, its waters carry rubbish and silt, and have lost the purity of their origin. In literary terms, this presumably represents the imitation of traditional epic, a genre which in its lengthy course has lost all its vitality, and has been invoked to serve unworthy purposes.

The fine spray from the pure spring stands for Callimachus' own poetry: on a small scale, but highly refined, written for the few who are able to appreciate the poet's learning and subtlety. To write such poetry inspired by exact and deep knowledge of Homeric language, Apollo asserts, is to emulate and recreate Homer in a more meaningful and original way than merely to reproduce slavishly the external dimensions of his epics. (It will be apparent that I reject in its entirety the interpretation proposed by Huxley, art. cit., who takes πόντος as Pontic Assyria, and sees here an allusion to Apollonius, but in a tone of 'agreement to differ about poetical practice or of gentle reproach'. Cf. Bundy, 40-1.)

105. Φθόνος is a malign, demonic force which destroys what is good; one needs divine protection against its power: see Peterson, *Eis Θεός*, 34 ff., *RLAC* ii. s.v. 'Böser Blick', cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 904. Bundy, 57 takes it as the god's own displeasure, but the interpretation I suggest seems more consistent with Call.'s terminology

when referring to his literary enemies: cf. Giangrande, *Hermes* 96 (1968), 710-25, esp. 716 ff.

ἐπ' οὐατα has been suspected, and the conjectures ἐς οὐατα and ἐπ' οὐατι have been proposed; but ἐπ' is justified by the notion of movement implied by λάθριος, and possibly also by a reminiscence of the only Homeric occurrence of ἐπ' οὐατα, at μ 77* (but there ἐπ' is a preverb, in tmesis), where Odysseus is stopping his men's ears with wax to prevent them hearing the Siren's song.

οὐατα: the invariable *sedes* of this word in the *Odyssey*; cf. also Φ 491*.

λάθριος: first attested at Soph. *Ichneutae* 66, but the adverb λάθρη is frequent in Homer.

εἶπεν: the tense indicates the very recent past, like the aorists (e.g. ἐσείσατο, ἐπένευσεν) at the beginning of the poem. Call. is relating this episode as if he had just witnessed it: cf. Erbse, 423, 'Der Neid trat also störend in den heiligen Bezirk ein, als der Gott bereits inmitten der Gläubigen dem Tempel zuschritt'.

106. ἄγαμαι: the form is a Homeric rarity, ζ 168, ψ 175; cf. ἡγασάμην in 16 above.

τόν: the article is demonstrative—this particular poet; cf. τοὺς παῖδας 16. Similarly δ Φθόνος (105) and ὁπόλλων (107) are conceived of as actually present: cf. note on 7.

ᾄδόν: the line is so constructed that ᾄδόν ends the first hemistich, αἰδεῖ the second; cf. *h.* 4. 7-8 ὡς Μοῦσαι τὸν ᾄδόν δ μὴ Πίμπλειαν αἰεῖσι | ἔχθουσιν . . . Cf. Bundy, 95.

οὐδ' ὅσα: Scaliger and Reiske conjectured οὐχ ὅσα, and Meineke οὐ τόσα; but οὐδ', as has been shown above, conveys an extremely important point (the poet is attacked for not equalling the sea *even* in quantitative terms) which has generally been misunderstood. Commentators and translators on the whole ignore its implications, and treat it as οὐχ; Mair resorts to gibberish: 'I admire not the poet who singeth not things for number as the sea.' Bundy, 63, in seeing here an example of the technique 'of suggesting the copiousness of a theme by geographically exhaustive doublets, triplets, or catalogues', is wide of the mark.

On the alleged connection between these words and A.R. 3. 932-3 see the sensible observation of Platt quoted by Gillies ad loc. and cf. Bundy, 40.

αἰδεῖ: the verb is predicated both of the poet and of πόντος, and there is no difficulty of construction: this is another positive gain from the identification of πόντος and Homer. (I was gratified to discover, on revising this section, that the identification has also been made independently by H. Herter in *RE Suppl.* xiii (1974), col. 235, who does not, however, cite evidence or explore the implications.)

107. τὸν Φθόνον . . . : note the parallelism between 105, introducing the criticism, and this line which introduces Apollo's reply:

δ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος	.	.	.	.	.	εἶπεν
τὸν Φθόνον ὁπόλλων	.	.	.	.	.	εἶπεν.

This is reinforced by the fact that the two lines have the same metrical structure (dsddd) as have 106 and 108 (ddddd).

ποδὶ . . . : cf. ο 45 λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν.

ἤλασεν: cf. *I* 349*, *N* 614*, τ 393*. Call. here combines the Homeric usages 'strike' (e.g. *B* 199, expressing a similar gesture of contempt as here) and 'drive out', 'banish' (e.g. *Z* 158). ἐλαύνειν is not used with ποδὶ in Homer, but cf. χειρὶ ἐλαύνειν at ν 164, *h. hom.* 3. 333, ὀδόντι ἐλαύνειν at τ 393, φ 219, etc.

ἔειπεν: for this form, frequent in Homer, see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 395, Risch, 214.

108. Ἀσσυρίου: cf. Theoc. *Id.* 2. 162* Ἀσσυρίῳ . . . ξείνοιο. The specification of the river as 'Assyrian' is emphatic, because this immediately distinguishes it from the great river in Homer, namely the river Oceanus: see next note.

ποταμοῖο: frequently in this *sedes* in Homer, but two lines in particular are recalled, μ 1 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο and Σ 607 ἐν δὲ τίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο. Thus Apollo is subtly conceding that in terms of mere size the Assyrian river seems to challenge comparison with Oceanus.

According to the scholiast, the 'Assyrian river' is the Euphrates, and scholars have generally accepted this identification, sometimes with the superfluous elaboration that Call. could not use the obvious example of the Nile, because of its divinity (so Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* ii. 86, Pasquali, *QC* 86, Jannaccone, 203-7). Huxley, art. cit. 211, without examining the appropriateness of the Euphrates here, asserts that 'the identification of "Assyrian river" . . . with the Euphrates is . . . not obligatory', and proceeds to revive the suggestion of M. T. Smiley that Call. is here alluding to Apollonius' description of the Halys, Iris, and Thermodon in Pontic Assyria. None of these rivers meets the requirements of this passage nearly as well as the Euphrates: it flowed through 'Assyria' (Strabo 16. 1). It is on any account a 'great stream', its length at the present day being computed at 2,600 km (1,780 miles); its width at Thapsacus was estimated at 4 stades by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 1. 4. 11), and is of course much greater where it spreads out over the plains of modern Iraq. For much of its course it is sluggish, and carries great alluvial deposits. It attracted much curiosity in antiquity (see Weissbach, 'Euphrates', *RE* vi. 1196-215), and was presumably dealt with by Callimachus himself in his work 'The Rivers of the World' (*fr.* 457-9).

It is perhaps worth pointing out that Callimachus' own interest in rivers emerges strongly in his poetry; see, for example, *h.* 1. 18 ff., 3. 101, 4. 76 ff., 206 ff., 5. 49 ff., *fr.* 384. 27-34, 646. His pupil Philostephanus wrote on παράδοξοι ποταμοί (Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 151, 288). In digressing on the Pontic rivers, Apollonius showed himself a true member of the Callimachean school.

ῥόος: cf. Φ 241*, and especially Σ 402*: ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο.

τὰ πολλά: adverbial, like τὰ πρῶτα in 58, 64. Its sense is here very precise: 'for the greater part of its course'. Near its source the Euphrates

is fast flowing; but as it 'emerges at Hit from its entrenched valley in the Syrian plateau and spreads out on to the plains of Iraq it decreases in both volume and velocity. In the dry climate of that region more water is lost by evaporation from the surfaces of the river and overflow marshes and by irrigation than is contributed by the upstream tributaries . . . This rapid decrease in the velocity of the river as it levels out has caused widespread deposition of sediment on the delta plain . . . It has been estimated that enough material is carried by the several rivers to cause the rate of growth of their common delta at the sea's edge to be as much as a mile and a half every 100 years.' (D. D. Cray, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edn. (1973), s.v. Euphrates.)

109. *λύματα γῆς*: the opposite of the pure water in two senses, as refuse and as earth. *λύματα* occurs only twice in Homer, at *A* 314 and *Ξ* 171*. Cf. *τόκοιο* | *λύματα* *h.* 1. 17, *λύματα δαιτός* *h.* 6. 115.

ῥδατι: contrast *ῥδαρ* in the next line; the lengthening is Homeric (see Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i. 104), but *ῥδατι* (*Ψ* 282 etc.) is less frequent than *ῥδατι* (*H* 425 etc.) in Homer, whereas in Hellenistic epic *ῥδατι* is exceptional (as at Theoc. *Id.* 16. 62).

συρφετόν: first attested at Hes. *Works* 606 (where it means 'chaff'). In this context both the literal and the figurative meanings recorded in *Et. Magn.* are apposite: *ἀγυρτώδης ὄχλος ἢ λόγος, ἢ ἡ ἐξ ἀνέμου συλλεγομένη κόπρος καὶ φρυγανώδης*.

110. *Δηοὶ . . . μέλισσαι*: commentators have tended to take *μέλισσαι* here as 'priestesses' or initiates of Demeter, as in Page, *GLP* 91. 1–2 *ὑμνον Δήμητρος πολυνύμου ἄρχομαι ἰστᾶν* | *δίπλακ'*, *ἀκούσατε, δεῖτε, μέλισσαι* . . . and elsewhere (see Olck, *RE* iii. 448). Recently doubts have been cast on the validity of this interpretation, notably by Pfeiffer himself, who now insists (*Hist. Class. Schol.* i. 284) that '*μέλισσαι* simply are bees doing what Aristotle said in *h.an.* viii 1 p. 596^b18 . . . We may be pleased to get rid of the priestesses and to restore the poetical simplicity of the passage; on the other hand, we have to confess that we are not able to see why the bees offer their tiny drops of water to Demeter.' It may be doubted whether 'poetical simplicity' is in fact the keynote of this passage; and the priestesses may be more difficult to expel than Pfeiffer or Huxley (who is much more peremptory, art. cit. 214) are prepared to allow.

The starting-point for discussion of this problem, as Pfeiffer saw, is Aristotle's observations on the diet of insects, and this merits extensive quotation:

τῶν δ' ἐντόμων τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα ὀδόντας παμφάγα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ γλῶτταν μόνον τοῖς ὕγροις τρέφεται, πάντοθεν ἐκχυλίζοντα ταύτη. καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν παμφάγα (πάντων γὰρ γεύεται τῶν χυμῶν) οἶον αἱ μυῖαι, τὰ δὲ αἰμοβόρα, καθάπερ μύωψ καὶ οἰστρος· τὰ δὲ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν ζῆ χυλοῖς. ἡ δὲ μέλιττα μόνον πρὸς οὐδὲν σαπρὸν προσίζει, οὐδὲ χρῆται τροφῇ οὐδεμίᾳ ἄλλ' ἢ τῇ γλυκύν ἐχούσῃ χυμὸν καὶ ῥδαρ δ' ἥδιστα εἰς ἑαυτὰς λαμβάνουσιν ὅπου ἂν καθαρὸν ἀναπηδᾷ.

(*HA* 596^b)

It is clear that Callimachus is indebted both to the general burden of this passage, with its presentation of the bee as the paragon of purity and fastidiousness, and in particular to the wording of its final sentence, which he has adapted and transformed into 110–12. (Cf. notes on 51.) The clause *ῥδαρ . . . λαμβάνουσιν* is re-expressed as *ῥδαρ φορέουσι*, a phrase which is epic, but also suggests religious ritual (see below); *ἀναπηδᾷ* is replaced by the more recherché *ἀνέρπει*. But Callimachus has not merely varied the diction of Aristotle's statement, he has added a new element. There is no mention of Demeter in Aristotle; the simple *καθαρόν* has been expanded into *καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος*, which has the ring of a sacral formula (see below); and while *ἀναπηδᾷ* suggests spring water, Callimachus insists that the *πίδαξ* is also *ἱερή*. In other words he has overlaid the description of bees' normal behaviour, as reported by Aristotle, with quasi-religious terminology, and one must at least concede the possibility that the bees are more than bees, that Callimachus may incidentally be alluding to some rite in which *μέλισσαι* (priestesses) did carry water to Demeter, as do *μέλισσαι* (insects), which are sometimes thought of as being under Demeter's protection (e.g. Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 1. 430, cited by Olck, loc. cit.).

Yet this is not all: in a passage where poetry is being discussed in metaphorical terms, it is surely relevant that *μέλισσα* is frequently used figuratively, meaning 'poet', and that the activities of poets and bees are often compared. Bacchylides describes himself as *λυγύφθογγον μέλισσαν* (*Odes* 9 (10). 10); Aristophanes (*Birds* 748 ff.) compares Phrynichus to a bee; cf. Leonidas, *AP* 7. 13 (of Erinna), Christodorus, *AP* 2. 110 (again of Erinna), 69 (of Sappho). Hence the late usage of *μέλισσα* = 'poetry', 'book of poems', (cf. LSJ s.v. III): see John of Gaza, *ecphrasis* 1. 18, Agathias, *AP* 4. 3b. 85 (131), where Beckby lists further instances. For the general comparison cf. Pindar, *Py.* 10. 53–4 *ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων* | *ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θίνει λόγον*, and the *locus classicus*, Plato, *Ion*, 534 a (where the etymological pun on *μέλι/μέλη* is made explicit): *λέγουσι γὰρ δῆπουθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω πετόμενοι*. Cf. J. H. Waszink, *Biene u. Honig als Symbol d. Dichters u. d. Dichtung, passim*. Further, the image of the bees which take only the purest droplets of spray is paralleled by Callimachus' comparison of himself with the cicada that drinks only drops of dew (*Aetia* prologue, fr. 1. 29 ff.).

In conclusion, there are three strands in the lines on the bees: first, the naturalistic, in which 'bees are bees'; secondly, the religious, in which the insects are visualized as Demeter's devotees, with a possible allusion to her human priestesses; and thirdly, the common metaphor of poets as 'bees'. These three elements are elegantly fused together, and it may be that there is in that fusion some precise purpose which is obscure to us. Pfeiffer, loc. cit., ventures the 'rather rash suggestion' that Callimachus may be alluding to Philetas' *Demeter*, a poem he

certainly admired (*fr.* 1. 10), and from which he borrowed the word *ἄεμμα* (33 above); an additional pointer in the same direction is the fact that Callimachus, in 22–4 above, is following Philetas in referring to a controversial passage of Homer.

Δηοῖ: the form *Δηώ* (= *Δημήτηρ*) is first attested at *h.hom.* 2. 47, where see Richardson's note, and is frequent in tragedy; it is the only form used by A.R., but Call. and Theocritus have both.

ἀπὸ παντός: Dilthey, *Analecta Callimachea*, 35 objected to this phrase, and proposed *ἀπὸ πόντου*, which is patently absurd, and also involves an unacceptable corruption of -ου, as Schneider pointed out. Schneider himself proposed *ἀπὸ παντός ὕδους* (the genitive of *ὕδος*, by analogy with the dative *ὑδὲι* at Hes. *Works* 61; cf. *fr.* 268 Pf.). The transmitted text must, however, be sound: the parallelism between this sentence and 9 *ὡπὸλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐσθλός* guarantees *οὐκ ἀπὸ παντός*, and *ὑδωρ φορέειν* is an epic usage. Comparison with the passage from Aristotle cited above shows that the phrase is Call.'s variation of *πάντοθεν*, which occurs there; and given the equivalence of *ἀπ' οἴκου* and *οἴκοθεν* (to take only one example), there does not seem to be any difficulty in *ἀπὸ παντός* = *πάντοθεν* (for which cf. Plato, *Rep.* 401 c).

ὑδωρ φορέουσι: on water-carrying as an activity of bees cf. Aristotle, *HA* 625¹⁹ *ὑδροφοροῦσιν*, Aelian, *HA* 5. 11 (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μὲν προστάττει ὑδροφορεῖν*). (Aelian also says of the bees which do not produce honey that *αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑδωρ τῷ βασιλεὶ κομίζουσι*, *ibid.* 1. 10). Call., by a slight variation, has adopted this technical term into epic language (cf. 54), thus recalling *Z* 457 *καὶ κεν ὑδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης*, but reversing the associations: in Homer, the phrase refers to captive women carrying pitchers of water as a servile task, here to bees carrying droplets to Demeter out of devotion. The verb *ὑδροφορεῖν* and the noun *ὑδροφόρος* are also technical terms in some religious rites (see LSJ, with *Suppl.*), and this fits the tone of this passage, though it does not give adequate support to Pasquali's extreme view, that this passage contains an oblique reference to the rites of Demeter at Eleusis in Alexandria (on which see Turner's commentary on P.Oxy. 2465 *fr.* 3 col. ii, a fragment of Satyrus' work on the demes of Alexandria); the insects are primary.

μέλισσαι: cf. *M* 167*, *v* 106*, Hesiod, *Theog.* 594*, Aratus 1029*, A.R. 1. 879*, Theoc. *Id.* 1. 107*, 7. 142*.

III. ἀλλ' ἤτις . . .: cf. 9 . . . ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐσθλός (with a similar ellipse), Aratus 40 ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν καθαρή . . .

καθαρή τε καὶ ἄχραντος: an expansion of Aristotle's simple *καθαρόν*; cf. *τεκμήριον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄχραντον*, Plato, *Alcib.* I 113 e. The words suggest a ceremonial formula: the combination of *καθαρός* with another adjective (often negative in sense) to convey purity is very frequent, e.g. the oath cited at Demosthenes 59. 78 *καθὰ καὶ ἀγνή εἰμι*; cf. *ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς h.hom.* 3. 121, Hes. *Works* 337, Parke and Wormell, ii, no. 374. 14; *ικέτης καθαρὸς ἀβλαβής* . . . Aesch. *Eum.* 474; *καθαρὸς αἰδώς* Soph. *OC* 548; *ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς* Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 7. 20;

καθὰ καὶ διαφανή τὰ ὑδάτια Plato, *Phrd.* 229 b, *τὸ καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκήρατον τοῦ νοῦ* *Crat.* 396 b; *ἀμιγές καὶ καθαρὸν* Plutarch, *mor.* 1078 b. Similarly *ἄχραντος* is often combined with another adjective of similar meaning, e.g. *ἄχραντος καὶ ἀκήρατος* A.R. 4. 1025, *αἵματος ἄχραντοι καὶ ἀκηδέες, ἀγνὰ γένεθλα* Oppian, *Hal.* 2. 648, *ἄχραντως καὶ ἀμολύντως* Epiphanius, *haer.* 69. 25 (Migne, PG xlii. 244 c).

ἄχραντος: most felicitously, to express the notion 'unsullied' Call. creates a new, unused word. The usual form is *ἄχραντος* (Eur. *IA* 1574, A.R. 4. 1025, etc.) from *χραίνω*: cf. *ἄφαντος* from *φαίνω*; but proceeding from the model of the Homeric adjective *ἀκράντος* (*B* 138 etc.) from the verb *κρααίνω*, which is equivalent to the later form *ἀκραντος* from *κραίνω*, Call. coins *ἄχραντος* as if from an analogous epic verb *χραιαίνω*, neatly exemplifying the combination of exact Homeric scholarship and poetic originality.

For *ἄχραντος* used of water see *AP* 9. 362. 18 (adespoteon), Alexander the Great (?) quoted by Aelian, *HA* 10. 40, Paulus Sil. *H. Sophia*, 600.

ἀνέρπει: previously attested in epic at Aratus 958 (of insects climbing up walls); here it represents Aristotle's *ἀναπηδᾶ*. Call. uses the simple *ἔρπειν* of a river at *fr.* 43. 42; other compounds occur (in this *sedes*) at *h.* 4. 92 (*καθέρπον*) and *fr.* 43. 62 (*ἐφέρπει*, restored).

112. πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς: *πίδαξ* occurs once only in Homer, at *Π* 825* *πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης*, which Call. has varied by transferring the epithet *ὀλίγη* to *λιβάς*, and significantly, by introducing *ἱερῆς*. Cf. Theoc. *Id.* 7. 142 (near a shrine of Demeter) *πρωῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι*. Oblique cases of *πίδαξ* occur also at A.R. 4. 1394*, 1451*, 1456*.

Dilthey, 25–6 contended that Call. was referring to the spring Callirhoe at Eleusis (in Attica), but this is not a necessary inference: 'the cult of Demeter and Persephone is especially connected with springs' (Richardson on *h.hom.* 2. 99, with examples from various parts of the Greek world).

Antipater Thessalonicens, in a literary polemic ostensibly aimed at the followers of Callimachus (*AP* 11. 20), deliberately varies this phrase: *κρήνης ἐξ ἱερῆς* (line 4).

λιβάς: attested first in tragedy (Aesch. *Persae* 613 *λιβάσιν ὑδρηλαῖς παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα*; cf. also *πιδάκωσσα λιβάς* Eur. *Andr.* 116); also at A.R. 4. 606, 1735. Cf. Wimmel, 224: 'Aus der schon kleinen Quelle wird noch eine nur geringe Spende entnommen, ὀλίγη λιβάς.'

ἄκρον ἄωτον: the model for this phrase seems to be Pindar, *Isth.* 7. 17–19 . . . *ἀμνάμονες δὲ βοροτοὶ | ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον | κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκεται* *ζυγόν*, also of poetry, also in the context of a water metaphor. In Homer only the forms *ἄωτον* and *ἄωτῳ* are found, and thus its gender is indeterminate. Pindar, who uses the word frequently, treats it as masculine (e.g. *Py.* 10. 53) and he is followed by Theocritus (*Id.* 13. 27) and Hesychius. Call. seems to have regarded the Homeric noun as neuter, as did A.R. (4. 176) and Oppian of Apamea (*Cyn.* 4. 154 *ἄωτα*, plural).

Pindar uses the word to denote the finest and most precious part of

something (e.g. ὕμνων *Py.* 10. 53, μέλιτος *Paean* 6. 59, γλώσσας *Isth.* 1. 51); in Homer it occurs in more specialized expressions, e.g. οἶδς ἁώτῳ (α 443) 'the softest of woollen blankets': for the basic affinity between the Pindaric and Homeric usages see Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, ii. 13, and R. A. Raman, *Glotta* 53 (1975), 195–207. Call. is here using the word in its general sense, as in Pindar, but in the form he evidently believed to be epic.

Call. uses the phrase also at *fr.* 260. 57 κύματος ἄκρῳ ἁώτῳ (same *sedes*) for the white foam on the crest of a wave, which clarifies the sense here. The expression recurs, again in apposition to the subject, in a metrical inscription from Bosra (Kaibel, *EG* 455. 1*) Βάσσος ἀνὴρ, Βόστρης ἐρικυδέος ἄκρον ἁωτον, and in Agathias, *Hist.* 2. 30. 9–10 Keydell οἱ δὲ ὅν ἅπαντες τὸ ἄκρον ἁωτον, κατὰ τὴν ποιήσιν, τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ φιλοσοφησάντων...

113. χαῖρε ἀναξ: by using this formula, Call. salutes the epiphant god, and accepts his literary verdict. This form of salutation is regular at the end of a hymn, and is normally followed by a petition of a general nature, as at *h.hom.* 15. 9 (to Heracles) χαῖρε ἀναξ, Διὸς υἱέ· δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον, 31. 17 (to Helios) χαῖρε ἀναξ, πρόφρων δὲ βίον θυμήρε' ὅπαζε. Cf. Call. *h.* 1. 91–6; 3. 259–68; 4. 325–6; 5. 140–2; 6. 134–8; Theoc. *Id.* 15. 149, 17. 135.

For other cases of apparent observation of the digamma see Pfeiffer on *fr.* 67. 13, Legrand, *Étude sur Théocrite*, 322 n. 11.

ἀναξ: this form of the vocative is normally used of Apollo in Call., as at *fr.* 67. 5, 193. 1, 202. 79, 229. 12.

Μῶμος: not so much a minor deity as the personification of Criticism; cf. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, ii. 77. His utter negativity is well pressed by Hes. *Theog.* 214, who makes him the fatherless child of Night (ἐξ ἀφανοῦς γὰρ ὁ μῶμος, scholia ad loc.). In a specifically literary context μῶμος is criticism of published work, and poets sometimes try to strike a pre-emptive blow against it, as here, and at Pindar, *Py.* 1. 82, Bacchylides 13 (12). 199f., Timotheus, *Persae* 210 ff. (where the poet seeks Apollo's support), Leonidas of Alexandria, *AP* 9. 356 (quoted below). While μῶμος is the reaction of human beings (as opposed to the demonic force of Φθόνος), there is no justification for regarding this as an allusion to any single individual contemporary of the poet. (*Fr.* 393 is part of an epigram, and not especially relevant to this context of literary theory.)

ἵν'... ἐνθα νέοιτο: for the form of the expression cf. A.R. 3. 787 ἀσκηθῆς, ἵνα οἱ θυμῷ φίλον, ἐνθα νέοιτο. For ἵνα = 'whither' cf. ζ 55.

ἵν' ὁ Φθόνος: the reading of I, and of the scholia to Gregory Nazianzen (see Pfeiffer's apparatus, and prolegomena to vol. ii, p. lxii). The rest of the direct tradition has ἵν' ὁ φθόρος and this has been defended, notably by Meineke, Vahlen, and Bethe (cf. Herter, *RE Suppl.* v. 440–1), as a circumlocution for εἰς τὸν φθόρον. Such an interpretation implies, even if it does not actually entail, the identification of Φθόνος and Μῶμος, a view which fails to do justice to Callimachus' linguistic precision. As Wilamowitz rightly observed (*Hell.*

Dicht. ii. 86): 'Es ist kein Zeichen von Gefühl für die Sprache, wenn jemand den starken Unterschied zwischen Momos und Phthonos nicht erfasst. Der erste ist ein Nörgler, der immer etwas auszusetzen hat, aber damit ist's getan. Der Phthonos aber will schaden, denn er hat den bösen Blick... Der Momos ist viel ungefährlicher, aber Kallimachos verbittet auch seine Kritik.' (There is of course some overlap between the two concepts, and they are frequently associated, as in Bacchylides, loc. cit., and the passage of Agatharchides cited by Von der Mühl, *MH* 15 (1958), 7 n. 18, but Wilamowitz's distinction is basically sound.)

Apollo, the poet's divine protector, has expelled Φθόνος contemptuously from his presence (107), and has ruled against his literary views. Callimachus now emulates his patron by declaring in advance his own indifference to the expected criticisms of the poem—Μῶμος, he says, may go to where you have sent Φθόνος, while I, Lord, enjoy your favour.

While it is true that according to Plato, *Phdr.* 247 a, Phthonos ἐξω θείον χοροῦ ἵσταται, and that in a fable of Aesop (155 Hausr.: cf. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 1061 n. 302) Momos was expelled from heaven by Zeus after criticizing the creations of his betters, the text here does not depend on an allusion to either of these passages, and is self-explanatory. Callimachus is suggesting that Phthonos and Momos should practise their arts on each other, just as Leonidas of Alexandria, in his programmatic poem, *AP* 9. 356, first-announces his poetic principles and then urges Momos to attack others: οἷννυμεν ἐξ ἐτέρης πόμα πίδακος, ὥστ' ἀρύσασθαι | ξείνον μουσσοπόλου γράμμα Λεωνίδεω. | διστιχὰ γὰρ ψήφουσιν ἰσάζεται. ἀλλὰ σύ, Μῶμε, | ἐξίθι κήφ' ἐτέρους δῶν ὁδόντα βάλε. Both passages exemplify the type of prayer known as an ἀποπομπή: cf. Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 13 (= *Gebet und Wunder*, 175): 'Wer sich, seine Familie, sein Haus, sein Land von irgendwelchen bösen Einflüssen, die man sich gern personifiziert als Schaden-geister denkt, zu befreien wünscht, der schickt sie weg durch die ἀποπομπή. Da gibt es nun zwei Haupttypen: (1) die reine Apopompe, wo es dem sie Vollziehenden nur darauf ankommt, das Übel loszuwerden. Wo es dann hingeht, ist ihm einerlei. (2) die ἀποπομπή verbunden mit der ἐπιπομπή. Das ist sozusagen das sichere Verfahren, das mehr Erfolg verspricht, weil man das zu Bannende an einen bestimmten Ort wegschickt; man gibt ihm ein Ziel an, wo es hausen, unter Umständen auch auf seine Kosten kommen kann.' Exploiting this motif, Callimachus suggests an entirely suitable destination for Momos—he may keep Phthonos company, far from the poet and his god.

In conclusion, I would add that the interpretation of this line as referring to the alleged expulsion of Apollonius from Alexandria by Ptolemy seems to me no less grotesque than the identification of the lion of 91 with Demetrius of Cyrene: those who foist such allegorical fantasies on Callimachus do him a grave injustice.

APPENDIX: HOMER AS OCEANUS

THESE extracts are intended merely to suggest the frequency and persistence of the conception of Homer as Oceanus, discussed in the introductory notes to 105-13, and I make no claim to have exhausted the subject. (I am indebted to Professor D. M. Schenkeveld of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, for bringing several of the passages to my attention.)

Manilius 2. 8-11:

[Homerus] . . . cuius . . . ex ore profusus
omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit
amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere riuos
unius fecunda bonis.

Longinus, *On Sublimity* 9. 13 (on Homer in old age):

ἀλλ' οἶον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα
ἐρημουμένου . . .

—, *ibid.* 13. 3 (on the indebtedness of various prose authors to Homer):

πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμητικοῦ κείνουνάματος
εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος . . .

(On these two passages see W. Bühler, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Schrift vom Erhabenen* (Göttingen, 1964), 64-6, 96-7.)

AP 9. 184 (adespoton) 3-4:

. . . Ὀμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥέυμα
ἔσπασας οἰκείους, Στήσιχον, ἐν καμάτοις . . .

(Cf. Lucian, *Dem. Enc.* 2 καὶ τῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ τήμερον πεποιημένων
δοκῶ μοι τῆς εὐροίας τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐπιγράψασθαι θείως γὰρ πως καὶ
μαντικῶς εἰς τὴν ποίησιν ἐξεβακχεύθην.)

Theodoret, *Therapeutice* 2. 50 = PG 83. 841^c (after mentioning Homer and Hesiod as being later than Moses):

τί δήποτε μὴ τούτους πάντας καταλιπόντες πρὸς Μωυσέα τὸν τῆς
θεολογίας Ὠκεανὸν μεταβαίνομεν, ἐξ οὗπερ, ποιητικῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντες
ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα;

George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica* 1. 66-70 = PG 92. 1202 (I have been unable to consult the edition of A. Pertusi (Ettal, 1960)):

Ὀμηρος, ὃν λέγουσι πηγὴν τῶν λόγων
— τὰς γὰρ λάλους ἐκείνος εὐρύνει φλέβας
καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῆς νεαζούσης φρενός
βλύζων ἐπάρδει καὶ ποτίζων ἐκτρέφει,
μένει τε πλήρης πολλάκις κενούμενος.

Eustathius, preface to commentary on the *Odyssey* (p. 1379 Stallbaum):

ὁ πάσης τῆς ἐν λόγοις τέχνης καθηγητῆς, ἐξ οὗ οἶα τινὸς Ὠκεανοῦ πάντες
ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι λογικῶν μεθόδων πηγαί . . .

—, preface to commentary on Pindar, 2 (= *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. Drachmann (Leipzig, 1927), iii. 286):

. . . ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ αὐτὸ ἄδοντες ταχὺ ἀπορρέουσι τοῖς μελίσμασι, καὶ
τοῦ Ὀμητικοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ μακρὰν μένοντες ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ εἰς ἀξιόλογα
λιβάδια καταστάζοιεν.

J. Tzetzes, prolegomena to *Allegoriae Iliadis*, ed. Boissonade (Paris, 1851), lines 28 ff.:

ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν τὸν βαθὺν Ὠκεανὸν Ὀμήρου
τὸν πᾶσαν περισφίγγοντα κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκουμένην
βατὸν κελεύεις ἅπασι καὶ πορευτὸν ποιῆσαι
ὡς Μωυσῆς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Ἰσραηλίταις πάλαι.

—, *ibid.*, lines 51-2 (repeated in *Chiliades* 13. 626-7 Kiessling):

ὁ Ὀμηρος ὁ πάνσοφος, ἡ θάλασσα τῶν λόγων
πλὴν γέμουσα τοῦ νέκταρος οὐχ ἄλμυρῶν ὕδατων . . .

Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto 7, stanza 80:

Oh, thou eternal Homer! I have now
To paint a siege, wherein more men were slain
With deadlier engines and a speedier blow,
Than in thy Greek gazette of that campaign;
And yet, like all men else, I must allow
To vie with thee would be about as vain
As for a brook to cope with ocean's flood;
But still we moderns equal you in blood . . .

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